

**FINE TABLE LINEN IN ENGLAND, 1450-1750:  
THE SUPPLY, OWNERSHIP AND USE OF A LUXURY  
COMMODITY**

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SUBMITTED FOR DEGREE OF Ph.D.

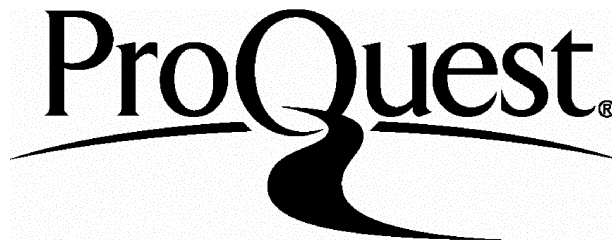
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## ABSTRACT

David Malcolm Mitchell

### FINE TABLE LINEN IN ENGLAND, 1450-1750: THE SUPPLY, OWNERSHIP AND USE OF A LUXURY COMMODITY

From the fourteenth century, diaper napery with small geometric patterns was imported from the Low Countries. Towards 1450, the drawloom was adapted in Flanders to weave white linen damasks with figurative patterns. These were expensive and initially covered the tables of the great. During the seventeenth century, new centres of manufacture in Germany provided cheaper figured table linens which were increasingly bought by the 'middling sort'.

Dining was always more than the simple provision of sustenance whether for a king publicly 'to glase his glorie' or a merchant privately 'for love or business'. Dining ceremony which responded to these different purposes and to changing concepts of hospitality and civility, generated the furniture of the dining chamber and in turn the supplies of napery.

This thesis examines the changing requirements for table linens using courtesy and household books in conjunction with a data set of some one thousand inventories. The patterns of importation by both English and stranger merchants are drawn from the London port books. Responses to the military situation on the continent and customs rates at home are considered, together with the degree to which a fashionable luxury commodity determined the trading strategies of individual merchants.

The distribution of table linen is appraised including the dominant role of London linen drapers. This is followed by an evaluation of its changing ownership and the effect of differential rates of inflation of various household goods upon consumer preferences. The results are set within the context of the discussion of conspicuous consumption both by contemporary commentators such as William Harrison and the modern protagonists in the debate on the 'consumer revolution'.

By linking pattern descriptions in inventories with surviving linens, the range of damasks sold in England is delineated and the influence of religious and political attitudes upon subject and design explored.

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- 9.37 Napkin with view of London  
(Kortrijk, Stedelijke Musea, 165).
- 9.38 Napkin with 'view' of Ghent, 1678  
(Kortrijk, Stedelijke Musea, 94).
- 9.39 Napkin with the capture of Belgrade, 1688  
(Kortrijk, Stedelijke Musea, 154).
- 9.40 Fragment of tablecloth celebrating the accession of William and Mary  
(London, Phillips, 14.5.87, Lot 237).
- 9.41 Napkin with the siege of Menen, 1706  
(Kortrijk, Stedelijke Musea, 113).
- 9.42 Medal celebrating the capture of Lille, 1708  
(Private collection), Loon (1732)\*, Pt. 5, Liv.1, 119 & 131.
- 9.43 Tablecloth fragment of the capture of Lille by Prince Eugene  
(London, Sotheby's Belgravia, 17.11.81, Lot 267).
- 9.44 Napkin with the return of the scouts from the Promised Land  
(Kortrijk, Stedelijke Musea, 203).
- 9.45 Detail of tablecloth with the story of Esther and Ahasuerus, 1632  
(London, Christie's S.Ken. 25.2.85, Lot 134).
- 9.46 Napkin with the story of Orpheus  
(Kortrijk, Stedelijke Musea, 209).
- 9.47 Napkin with flowers, fruit and birds  
(Kortrijk, Stedelijke Musea, 51).
- 9.48 Detail of tablecloth with the four seasons  
(London, Phillips, 4.4.85, Lot 101).
- 9.49 Napkin with scenes of hawking and hunting  
(Kortrijk, Stedelijke Musea, 36A).
- 9.50 Napkin with Hanoverian arms. Kortrijk, c.1718  
(Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, 1982-88).
- 9.51 Napkin with Hanoverian arms and GIIR. Irish, c.1740  
(Riggisberg, Abegg-Stiftung, formerly Burgers/Du Preez, BP 1431).
- 9.52 Napkin with Hanoverian arms. Saxony, c.1730  
(Riggisberg, Abegg-Stiftung, formerly Burgers/Du Preez, BP 1103).
- 9.53 Napkin with Venus and Cupid  
(London, Phillips, 30.8.84, Lot 196).
- 9.54 Tablecloth with Frederick I, King of Prussia  
(London, Christie's S.Ken. 22.11.83, Lot 104).
- 9.55 Napkin with view of the Papal Palace, Rome  
(Kortrijk, Stedelijke Musea, 269).

## GENERAL NOTES

- Footnotes*
- a) In view of the imposed word limit, a shortened system of reference is used in the footnotes.
  - b) Manuscript references are given in full for those held outside London. For those in London, standard abbreviations of the Record Office are normally used (see below). However, in each chapter, documents from the Public Record Office are only prefixed PRO for the first reference in each class.
  - c) References to books and papers take the form of a name and bracketed date, with full details given in the Bibliography. Apart from details of the classes of manuscripts, this is divided into three sections: unpublished theses, papers and databases (indicated in the footnotes by the symbol ‡), primary printed sources (indicated by \*), and secondary printed sources (without any symbol).
  - d) References to inventories take the form of a date followed by a name in capitals, with full details given in Appendix A.
- Tables and Figures*
- a) Tables and Figures are prefixed with the chapter number.
  - b) Tables occur throughout the text, but Figures at the end of the chapter.
- Illustrations*
- a) Illustrations are prefixed with the chapter number and occur at the end of the chapter following any figures.
  - b) White-on-white damask patterns are very difficult to photograph and the quality varies greatly depending upon their source.
  - c) As the widths of napkins and tablecloths were direct proportions of an ell, they are more significant in determining place of manufacture and date than the length. Accordingly widths are given before the lengths.
  - d) References to pieces in the Stedelijke Musea Kortrijk are given as catalogue numbers taken from Pauwels & De Jaegere (1986) and (1996).
- Equivalent lengths*
- The port books generally record imports of damask and diaper table linen as ‘tabling’, ‘towelling’ and ‘napkinning’. Most tabling was three ells wide but towelling and napkinning only one ell wide. To give comparative quantities, an ‘equivalent length’ in ‘yds’ is calculated by multiplying the length of tabling by three and adding the result to the length of towelling and napkinning. (This ‘equivalent length’ is essentially a measurement of area and may be converted into square yards by multiplying by a factor of 0.77 for Flemish and Dutch napery, and by 0.73 for German napery. As 1 sq. yd = 0.84m<sup>2</sup>, the corresponding metric factors are 0.65 and 0.61.)
- Dates*
- Dates given in English documents until 1752 use the Julian or Old Style Calendar. On the continent, the Gregorian or New Style Calendar was adopted in 1582. From then until 1700, the Old Style Calendar lagged ten days behind the New, and from 1700 until 1752, eleven days. In England, the year changed on Lady Day, 25 March. However, by the mid-seventeenth century several continental countries had adopted a year beginning on 1 January. As a consequence, in England dates between 1 January and 25 March were sometimes given in the form 10 February 168<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub>. In this thesis New Year’s Day is taken as 1 January and such dates are given as 10 February 1684.
- Names*
- a) Personal names are generally spelt as found. Thus in the tables prepared from the port books, stranger merchants are listed with the anglicised versions of their names. To avoid confusion, the tables with their personal details also include their names taken from the records of the Dutch Church at Austin Friars.
  - b) Local modern spelling is generally used for continental towns except for those cases, such as Antwerp, where an English version is in common usage. English towns, although spelt in the current form are placed in counties prior to Edward Heath’s re-organisation of their boundaries.

- Abbreviations* a) Abbreviations of archaeological and historical societies, and London Livery Companies are given in Appendix A.
- b) General abbreviations are as follows:
- |       |  |
|-------|--|
| BL    | British Library  |
| CMH   | Centre for Metropolitan History, IHR, University of London |
| DNB   | Dictionary of National Biography                           |
| HMC   | Historic Manuscripts Commission                            |
| OED   | Oxford English Dictionary                                  |
| PRO   | Public Record Office                                       |
| V & A | Victoria and Albert Museum                                 |
| VCH   | Victoria County History                                    |

## CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

*The main spur to trade, or rather to Industry and Ingenuity,  
is the exorbitant Appetites of Men which they will take pains  
to gratifie . . . for did Men content themselves with bare  
Necessaries, we should have a poor World.<sup>1</sup>*

– Sir Dudley North, 1691.

From the fourteenth century and possibly earlier, diaper napery was imported from the Low Countries into England through the Port of London. This was a fabric woven in twill weave on a shaft loom with small, white-on-white geometrical patterns. Towards 1450, the drawloom which had been used for several centuries in the East and then in Italy to produce patterned silks, was adapted in the southern Netherlands to weave linen damasks. These were woven in a satin weave with figurative patterns mostly of floral, biblical and hunting subjects. Such damask table linens were very costly and during the sixteenth century were found in England largely on the tables of the crown, nobility and London merchant elite. During the seventeenth century, new manufacturing centres, particularly in Germany, provided cheaper diaper and damask napery which was increasingly bought by the ‘middling sort’. Throughout the period, imports of diaper and damask table linens represented some 2 or 3 per cent of total linen imports.

Dining was always more than the simple provision of sustenance whether for a king dining publicly ‘to glase his glorie’ or a merchant privately ‘for love or business’.<sup>2</sup> Dining ceremony responded to these different circumstances and purposes as well as changing notions of hospitality and civility together with an increasing desire for privacy. In turn, dining ceremony generated the numbers, sizes and types of tables and cupboards that furnished the dining room and consequently the supplies of napery that covered them.

This thesis is a comprehensive examination of every aspect of the provision of fine table linen: its supply, distribution, ownership, cost, care, rate of consumption and design. The study is confined to England for the period from about 1450, when the first damask table linen was probably imported, until 1750, when the patterns of trade were altered by significant supplies of figured linens from Ireland and Scotland.

Although there is a considerable literature on the supply and consumption of material goods especially for the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, table linens are mentioned only occasionally. Much of the discussion of supply has been concerned with the volume and

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1 North (1691)\*, quoted in Appleby (1993), 165.

2 Forrest (1548)\*, quoted in Anglo (1992), 7.  
Cornwallis (1600)\*, quoted in Heal (1990), 101.



type of overseas trade and its impact on the overall economy, but particular aspects such as the effects of changing customs policy have also been considered.<sup>3</sup> Recently, there has been growing interest in the attitudes, strategies and lives of overseas merchants.<sup>4</sup> Demand has also been re-assessed with Neil McKendrick in 1982 proclaiming an eighteenth-century consumer revolution and expressing enthusiasm for theories of social emulation.<sup>5</sup> McKendrick's forthrightness provoked considerable debate which spawned several individual and collective works, such as *Consumption and the World of Goods*, whose authors call for varied approaches to understand the nature of consumption, its relationship to supply, and the possible motives of consumers.<sup>6</sup>

Two individual works by Lorna Weatherill and Carole Shammas, based upon inventory analysis, consider consumer behaviour and the ownership of goods, including linens, in England and the American colonies.<sup>7</sup> Neither relate the goods recorded in inventories to surviving artefacts. Weatherill saw this as a problem, for she writes,

The intentions of those who study the objects themselves are so different from the intentions of economic and social historians that it takes considerable imagination to bridge the gap and see any relevance in this work for the study of consumption.

The main problem with the very large literature on the artefacts themselves is that the surviving pieces are those of the highest quality and the greatest aesthetic appeal.<sup>8</sup>

This thesis attempts to deal with this problem by unpacking the linen presses of the wealthier sections of society, in order to understand the ownership of different types and qualities of linens, and to relate inventory descriptions to surviving examples. (In addition, the artefacts are used to give insights which are absent from the written records.) The resulting linkages give an increased awareness of the nature of particular linens in accounts and inventories, which enable more informed judgements to be made on a variety of questions, including the apparent fall of linen prices in the second half of the seventeenth century and the success of German and Irish damasks in England during the eighteenth century.

A number of inter-related questions, some of which have been considered for other commodities are addressed with reference to damask napery. For example, to what degree did dealing in a fashionable luxury commodity determine the trading strategies of both merchants and linen drapers? Further, how did the availability of cheaper damasks affect

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3 Harte (1973).

4 For example, Roseveare (1987)\*, Brenner (1993), Grassby (1994) & (1995).

5 McKendrick, Brewer & Plumb (1982), 9-33.

6 Brewer & Porter (1993) includes 23 separate articles.

7 Shammas (1990), Weatherill (1988).

8 Weatherill (1988), 21.

the pattern of ownership, and what was the impact of differential rates of inflation of various commodities upon consumer choices?

Other questions concern changing perceptions. For example, how did attitudes as regards the 'value' or 'worth' of linen damask change, as a very costly novelty in 1510 became a moderately priced commonplace by 1660 and in wealthy households became, in effect, a 'consumable' rather than a 'consumer durable'? Also, how did the patterns of linen damasks imported into London reflect English religious views or decorative tastes, and were these expressed simply in the choice of subject, or additionally in the style of the design?

Although the use of the term 'luxuries' often implied goods that were both unnecessary and morally suspect, 'luxury' in the thesis title refers essentially to the costly nature of linen damasks, for only rarely were they the object of such strictures. Moreover, unlike food and clothing, they were not subject in England to sumptuary legislation.<sup>9</sup>

Figured napery is an appropriate choice of commodity to answer a wide range of questions, as its supply, ownership and use can be linked over an extended period. It was imported regularly in sufficient quantity to be tracked through the customs records, where both diaper and damask woven in the Low Countries and in Germany can be separately identified, as they had individual entries in the Books of Rates used by the customs. In contrast, other luxury goods such as armour or oriental carpets were imported in much smaller quantities over a more limited period and were rarely included in the Books of Rates. After importation and sale, particular figured table linens can be identified by the descriptions in probate and household inventories. Links can be made between supply and ownership because the imported loom pieces of tabling or napkining were simply converted into tablecloths and napkins by cutting them into the required lengths, the widths remaining as woven. This is not the case for other luxury fabrics such as patterned silks and velvets, often used for garments and bed hangings, which were cut into many shapes and sizes. In addition, some linen damasks have inscriptions or ownership marks which enable a basic dated series of reference patterns to be established.

The structure of the thesis is straightforward. After this introduction and a chapter with necessary background information, there follow seven chapters which discuss a specific aspect over the whole 300-year period. They are self-contained, having introductions outlining the questions to be addressed and subsequently, resulting conclusions. A final chapter summarises the principal findings and draws more general conclusions.

Although the thesis is not intended as a history of figured table linen, a basic understanding of weaving structure, production methods and centres of manufacture is obviously

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<sup>9</sup> Harte (1993), note 2.

necessary. These matters are discussed in Chapter Two along with the historiography of linen damasks and the principal sources for the work: namely surviving artefacts in certain public and private collections, together with written records particularly the London Port Books and an extensive data set of probate, attainder and household inventories.

Chapter Three establishes the table linens required for the different dining ceremonies, both public and private, of the crown, nobility, gentry and merchant elite. It uses the plethora of tablecloths, short and long towels, arming towels, coverpanes, cupboard cloths and napkins to comment upon changing social and cultural attitudes.

Chapter Four considers the patterns of importation of table linen from the Low Countries, Germany and France in terms of its quantity, quality and centre of production. As napery woven in the Low Countries, whether in the Spanish Netherlands or the United Provinces, was described in the customs records as 'Holland' damask or diaper, the relative proportions of imports of Flemish and Dutch cloth are assessed in the light of the ports of lading, and contemporary military and political events. In addition, the proportion of table linens imported through the Port of London is considered, as well as the likely impact of smuggling upon the overall supply. The effect is also discussed of the development in the late seventeenth century of both the Irish industry and the weaving of huckaback in England upon the level of continental imports.

Chapter Five examines the respective roles of English merchants and merchant strangers importing linens into London, and the degree and type of specialisation of their trade. It sketches biographies of several merchants who dominated the trade in the various types of damask and diaper, to assess the importance of birth or training to their success and whether particular strategies or methods were demanded when dealing in a luxury commodity. Insights from these biographies are also used to illustrate the integration of merchants from stranger families into the mainstream of English commercial life.

Chapter Six deals with the distribution of fine table linen from the importer to the customer, including the respective roles of substantial linen drapers in the City of London dealing in both wholesale and retail trade, smaller London linen drapers and provincial mercers. As the royal household was the largest single purchaser of damask and diaper napery, the functions of the royal linen drapers, who were regularly appointed by warrant, are also described. Biographies of several London linen drapers are outlined to investigate matters such as business structure and finance; the degree of specialisation in luxury goods; the relationships with overseas merchants, other linen drapers and sub-contractors such as dyers and calenderers; and the size and nature of their retail trade.

Chapter Seven considers the changing patterns of ownership of table linen in terms of type of cloth, quantity and value for various status groups: the nobility, gentry, professionals

(lawyers, priests, etc), yeomen, and merchants and tradesmen. This enables the spread of ownership to be assessed and the effects of the introduction of cheaper German and French alternatives to 'Holland' damask and diaper. Further, the relative 'investment' in table and household linens, furniture and furnishings, and plate and jewellery is analysed for each 25-year period in quartiles of ascending wealth. This is principally to examine consumer strategies, in the light of the lower rate of inflation for plate compared with other luxury goods.

Chapter Eight examines the unit costs of damask and diaper in terms of its quality and type of pattern. This is to establish whether the falls in the 'real' costs of plain linens, identified by other authors, are also found in figured table linens, and to compare the rates of inflation of actual costs with values in the Books of Rates. Annual budgets of expenditure for the purchasing of new supplies of napery and its care are discussed with particular reference to the royal household. The changing role of women in the stewardship and laundering of napery, and the relationship between the frequency of washing and the rate of consumption are also investigated.

Chapter Nine discusses the stock patterns of damask and diaper sold in England and the personalised stock or wholly bespoke patterns commissioned by English customers. It also considers whether stock patterns were designed especially for the English market and whether political or religious preferences can be discerned among the surviving artefacts.

The final chapter reflects upon the wider issues raised by the detailed conclusions of the study relating to the supply, ownership and use of this luxury commodity.

## CHAPTER 2    *DEFINITIONS, PRODUCTION, HISTORIOGRAPHY AND SOURCES*

*It is impossible to fix the date of this ancient invention [the Draw-loom] ... But when, or wherever it may have first been made, there can be no doubt that this invention is the most important in the whole history of textile development. All the finest pattern-weaving of the Eastern, as well as the Western world, ancient and modern, has been done on the draw-loom principle.<sup>1</sup>*

- Luther Hooper, 1910

### 2.1    *DIAPER AND DAMASK DEFINITIONS*

During the fifteenth century, the ‘bords’ of the wealthy in England were covered by fine white linen, sometimes plain but more often self-patterned. Initially, these figured linens were variously described but by the middle of the sixteenth century they were classed, notably in probate inventories, as either ‘diaper’ or ‘damask’. This classification seems to have been entirely descriptive, ‘diaper’ and ‘damask’ being differentiated solely on the complexity of the pattern; small repeat patterns often of a geometrical form being described as ‘diaper’ and figurative patterns with longer repeats described as ‘damasks’ (Ills 2.1 & 2.2).

Subsequently, this differentiation is reflected in official circles, for example, the 1933 edition of the *Oxford English Dictionary* defines diaper as,

now, and since the 15th c. applied to a linen fabric woven with a small and simple pattern, formed by the different directions of the thread, with the different reflexions of light from its surface, and consisting of lines, a central leaf or dot, etc.

Damask is defined as,

a twilled linen fabric richly figured in the weaving with designs which show up by opposite reflexions of light from the surface; used chiefly for table linen.

The accompanying historical quotations all relate to the descriptive aspects of the definitions. None of them relates to the technical understanding of the weave structure, implied for example by ‘formed by the different directions of the thread, with the different reflexions of light from its surface’ and ‘a twilled linen fabric with designs which show up by opposite reflexions of light from the surface’. Although it is arguably misleading to define damask as a ‘twilled’ fabric, as few damasks ‘richly figured in the weaving’ have twill grounds, the attempt to add a technical definition - albeit, bare of quotations - to the

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<sup>1</sup> Hooper (1910), 252.

traditional descriptive one is significant. It presages the work of post-war textile historians who have tried to define fabrics primarily by their weave structure. Only when the weave structures have been defined and differentiated one from another, have attempts been made to fit traditional fabric names and descriptions into this schema.

This structural method, which has been actively encouraged by the *Centre International d'Etudes des Textiles Anciens* (CIETA), is exemplified in the work of both Irene Emery, *The Primary Structures of Fabrics* and Dorothy Burnham, *A Textile Terminology*. As can be inferred from the dictionary definitions, diaper and damask have the same basic weave structure; they are float weaves and it is the warp or weft threads 'floating' unbound over two or more weft or warp threads which 'catches' the light and reveals the figure.

Irene Emery specifies three main weave types: plain, float and compound weaves, and then divides float weaves into three subsidiary groups: twill weaves, satin weaves and float weaves derived from plain weaves. The various even and uneven twills and the different satin weaves are defined with the help of many illustrations. She discusses damask at length, including the origin of the word 'damask', the variety of the connotations of the term 'damask weave', and the technical nature of the area-patterning in damask. She concludes,

in summing up these interrelated terms, it could be said that to describe a fabric as *damask* would suggest a monochrome, more or less elaborately patterned, 'turned-satin' weave of silk or linen . . . ; to describe one as *damask weave* would imply that the device of 'turning' or 'counter-changing' a *satin weave* had been used to create somewhat extended and intricate figuring; while the term *damassé* might imply similar patterning but different weave structures ... Throughout, it is the concept of 'area-patterning' by means of contrasted weave textures that, more than any other, seems to be implicit in the term *damask*.<sup>2</sup>

Although its etymology is neglected, diaper is similarly discussed.<sup>3</sup> However, there are few definite conclusions of the type made for damask, rather a plea for a more responsible use of language.

But as a term with which to designate either a general fabric type or a particular variety of weave structure, the meaning

2 Emery (1966), 13, 'it is often stated that the fabric (or weave) derives its name from the city "where it was first made"; and that statement is not easily substantiated. We know that by the twelfth century at least Damascus had become famous for its trade in exquisite and expensive silks and it is reasonable to assume that fabrics which might now be described as 'damask' were among those on which that fame rested'.

*Oxford Dictionary of English Etymology* (1966) 'Damask' - various names of natural and artificial products reputed to derive from Damascus.

3 *OED* (1933) 'Diaper from O.F. and ME Diapre, derived in turn from Byzantine GR Diaspros, might mean "white at intervals, white interspersed with other colour" or "pure white". A gratuitous guess that the name was perhaps derived from Ypres in Flanders has no etymological or historical basis.' However, in Scotland diaper was called 'dornick', derived from Doornik [Tournai].

of *diaper* must be much more firmly and clearly delimited if it is to be of any use. Using the term *diaper weave* will help to avoid any mistaken assumption that the reference is to patterning alone; and another step toward classification would be taken if the practice of using the term as a synonym for another which is entirely adequate (such as *birdseye* or *diamond, twill*) were eliminated.<sup>4</sup>

Dorothy Burnham's book is adapted and expanded from an earlier work, the *Vocabulary of Technical Terms* published in 1964 and its very nature precludes lengthy discussion of past definitions and traditional names. Although this work does not start by defining basic weave types, many of the individual technical definitions are similar to those of Emery. Burnham defines three basic binding systems of tabby, twill and satin and then divides patterned weaves, using these three basic binding systems, into three main categories: 'those with warp effects, those with weft effects, and those with both warp and weft effects'.<sup>5</sup> Into this last category fall the self-patterned weaves (Irene Emery's *float weaves*) which are grouped according to the binding system: tabby variations include huckaback; twill variations include lozenge, birds-eye and twill diaper; satin variations include satin damask and damask diaper.

Mindful of Emery's imperative that 'meaning . . . must be much more firmly and clearly delimited if it is to be of any use', these modern structural definitions are used in this thesis when comparisons are made between surviving linens for the purpose of dating or to determine the place of manufacture. For the rest of the work the earlier and cruder classification, based on the observed complexity of pattern, is used, with 'diaper' having simple, often geometric, patterns with small horizontal and vertical repeats in contrast to 'damask' having figurative patterns with longer repeats.

This use of descriptive rather than technical definitions is to avoid confusion with terms used in the historical documents which are quoted extensively in this work. For example, the surviving sixteenth and seventeenth century linens which appear to 'match' inventory entries of 'diaper' have a variety of weave structures. Although these include tabby, twill and satin variations they are all simply described as 'diaper'. Fortunately, there is not the same danger of confusion between the descriptive and technical definitions of damask as almost all the surviving linens 'matching' inventory entries have satin bindings.<sup>6</sup>

Of the many theoretical satin bindings only three have been used to any degree in the weaving of damasks, namely satin of 5, 7 and 8. Before 1700 most damasks and almost all Dorothy Burnham's 'damask diapers' (i.e. diaper patterns with satin rather than tabby or

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<sup>4</sup> Emery (1966), 136.

<sup>5</sup> Burnham (1981), 193-198.

<sup>6</sup> There are a very few damasks with twill grounds, e.g. Rijksmuseum Amsterdam. RBK 1980-373, a mid-17th century flower design probably made in Haarlem, broken twill binding.

twill binding) were of satin of 5, termed '5-end satin' by Becker (Ills 2.3 & 2.4).<sup>7</sup> From early in the eighteenth century, Saxon weavers began to use satin of 8 for many of their better quality damasks, to be followed later in the century by weavers in several other manufacturing centres. Although small, there is a very significant group of stunningly beautiful damasks woven in satin of 7 during the first half of the sixteenth century (see Ills 9.3, 9.16, 9.21, 9.22, 9.24). They have unbalanced weaves with the density of the weft often double the warp. Although this feature is also found on a number of pieces from the middle of the sixteenth century, woven in satin of 5 in Kortrijk, and from the early decades of the next century, in Haarlem, it is rare thereafter, balanced weaves with approximately equal warp and weft counts being generally used. In the light of these features, Dorothy Burnham's secondary damask definition is possibly very significant,

In its classic form damask patterning is produced by contrasting the two faces of a satin weave. This suggests a satin pattern against an equally shiny weft-faced satin ground, the exact reverse on the other face [Ills 2.5 & 2.6]. Most silk damasks are of unbalanced weave with a fine, closely set warp producing a shiny warp face and a heavier, more widely spaced weft giving a dull appearance in the areas where the weft predominates. . . . Linen damasks for table use are usually of balanced weave and completely reversible.<sup>8</sup>

It appears for the finest early sixteenth century linen damasks that the established silk tradition of unbalanced weaves and non-reversible patterns prevailed, presumably to give a greater contrast between the shiny weft face and the duller warp face.<sup>9</sup> However, as the tensile strength of silk is much greater (per unit of cross-sectional area) than linen, the greater density of thread in linen damasks was in the weft, rather than the warp.<sup>10</sup> Nevertheless, Burnham is correct in stating that the majority of damask table linen was of balanced weave and completely reversible by the nature of the point repeat (Ill. 2.7). This remained the case until the extensive use of comber repeats in Saxony and Silesia from about 1710 (Ill. 2.8).<sup>11</sup>

## 2.2 METHOD OF MANUFACTURE

Apart from visual distinctions and different weave structures, there is a further consideration that has been used in the definition of fabrics, namely, the method of

<sup>7</sup> Becker (1987), I, 221.

<sup>8</sup> Burnham (1981), 33.

<sup>9</sup> The linen damask group woven in satin of 7 are not fully reversible when inscriptions are included in the pattern.

<sup>10</sup> As higher warp counts are used, the problems of the threads breaking during weaving become more acute.

<sup>11</sup> There are a few seventeenth-century damasks with comber repeats, probably woven in Slesvig-Holstein; see Thorman (1951), No. 22, Napkin dated 1644.



manufacture. In the case of diaper and damask such a consideration has been thought very germane to the question of definition, for the fabrics described by inventory clerks as ‘diaper’ were mostly woven on a shaft loom and those described as ‘damask’ were all woven on a much more complicated drawloom.

The simple shaft loom changed little with time as shown by Jost Amman’s woodcut of 1568 and the eighteenth-century engraving in *L’Encyclopédie* of Diderot and D’Alembert (Ills 2.9 & 2.10). The latter has two shafts, or groups of heddles, suspended from pulleys (a) and attached to the treadles by cords (c). Although both these illustrations show a loom with two shafts, there could be many more. Diapers from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and indeed the majority from the seventeenth century were twill weaves woven on a loom with a minimum of four shafts. Current knowledge of weaving practice is sketchy in this period but in the nineteenth century twills were woven on looms with up to sixteen shafts.<sup>12</sup> Some diapers in the seventeenth century and thereafter were woven with satin bindings (termed ‘damask diaper’ by Burnham). A weaver’s book from Hanover, dating from the middle of the eighteenth century has diagrams for weaving diapers in satin of 5 on a loom with between twenty and thirty shafts.<sup>13</sup> It is likely that such multi-shaft looms were used earlier in view of the structure of the weaves of certain diapers thought to date from the sixteenth century.

The invention of the drawloom has been the subject of much debate but by the seventh century it was used in the East to produce various types of patterned silks.<sup>14</sup> Luther Hooper, quoted at the beginning of this chapter, was in no doubt as to its importance. It was adapted in the Low Countries to weave linen damask during the fifteenth century, the technology transfer probably coming through trade links with Italy. No examples of these early linen drawlooms survive and there is argument as to the nature of the improvements, including several described in patents, made during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. These linen drawlooms are, however, thought to be similar in principle to that illustrated in *L’Encyclopédie* for weaving silk brocades (Ills 2.11 & 2.12). The revolutionary concept of the drawloom was that in addition to the satin-binding harness, it has a second figure harness with leashes attached to the warp threads. The leashes are controlled by cords that are pulled or drawn, in a given order according to the pattern, by the weaver’s assistant called a drawboy. Theoretically, there is no limit to the number of these leashes or the controlling cords and thus complicated patterns with very long repeats can be woven. For example, several of the biblical designs from the early seventeenth century have seven

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12 Burnham & Burnham (1972). For examples of twill diaper patterns woven in Eastern Canada in the early nineteenth century on sixteen shafts, see Ill. 73, fig. 28, and p. 275.

13 Arndt (1994).

14 Summarised in Becker (1987) and Geijer (1982).

or more registers with repeats greater than 2.5 metres.<sup>15</sup> Not only the use of the drawloom rather than the shaft loom but also the complexity of the design, the density of the warp and the length of the repeat had a significant effect on the price of the finished damask.

## 2.3 CENTRES OF PRODUCTION

### a) Kortrijk, Flanders

Although it seems that some napery was woven in London during the fifteenth century, most fine table linen was imported from either the Low Countries or France.<sup>16</sup> Plain linen and diaper came from several sources but damask was largely produced in the southern Netherlands. The early development of the weaving of linen damasks awaits a major study for Etienne Sabbe's thesis of 1943, subsequently published as *De Belgische Vlasnijverheid*, only briefly touches the subject and later works have added little.<sup>17</sup> Nevertheless, Kortrijk (Courtrai in French) in Flanders had emerged as the centre of the trade towards the middle of the sixteenth century and as early as 1496 detailed regulations for its control were promulgated by the town's Guild of St Catherine. Although these ordinances have not survived, sets were regularly reissued during the next two centuries, including 1545 and a very detailed set in 1633.<sup>18</sup> Quality was defined according to the fineness of the warp threads which were specified in hundreds of threads per ell.<sup>19</sup> In the regulation of 1605, fineness ranged in twelve steps from 1100 to 4000 threads per ell. Width was defined in ells or quarter ells; for example, in 1545 tabling could be woven in widths of 4, 3, 10/4, 2 and 7/4 ells, and in 1633, napkinning in 6/4, 5/4, 4/4 and 3/4 ells. In 1633, all loom pieces of damask were to be of a minimum length of 44 ells, with a maximum length of 47½ ells for tabling and 50½ ells for towelling and napkinning. Both damask and diaper were generally imported in the loom piece.

15 Ysselsteyn (1962), No. 75, story of Jacob dated 1631, length repeat 3.05m; No. 85, Saul and David dated 1637, length repeat 3m. Burgers (1986), Susanna c.1531, tablecloth was originally c.10m long without any pattern repeat.

16 From the evidence of the Weavers' Company scale of payments of 1456 some diaper and plain linen cloth was woven in London, Consitt (1933), App. II. There are rates for various types, widths and qualities of cloth. The quality of the plain linen is expressed in hundreds of warp threads. The figured linens include 'Naprie of Parys [Paris] werk', 'Crosse Werk', 'Crosse Diamounde', 'Smale Knottes', 'Cheynes yn Werk', 'Catrylettes', and 'Damask Knottes with the Chapelettes'. In addition, there are rates for 'Alle maner werk made in Draught werk'. These include a rate for cloth 2 yds broad. The rates for 1½ yd broad cloth rise from 6d per yd for napery of Paris, to 16d per yd for draught work. Presumably, the latter was woven on some kind of drawloom.

17 Sabbe (1975), 185-190. Also see Prinnet (1982), 35-65.

18 De Jaegere (1984)†, De Jaegere (1986). The 88 articles of the 1633 ordinances are in Kortrijk, Stedelijke Bibliotheek, Fonds Goethals-Vercruyssen, Codex 504, 12, 4627-4644. For the history of the Guild in the eighteenth century, see Belaen (1987)†.

19 The Kortrijk ell would have been defined by an ell stick kept by the Guild of St Catherine. As linen shrinks when bleached, there were presumably ell sticks for both an unbleached and bleached ell. Unfortunately, no ell sticks survive from either Kortrijk or Haarlem (which subsequently adopted the same measures). Doursther (1840)\* gave the unbleached ell as 73.75 cm and the bleached, or white ell, as 69.125 cm.

Kortrijk saw troublous times during the religious upheavals which culminated in the fall of Antwerp in 1585 and the establishment of a separate state, the United Provinces, from the seven northern provinces of the Netherlands. At this time, a number of damask weavers, bleachers and other skilled tradesmen left Kortrijk. The majority went to Holland where a second major centre of production was established in Haarlem. Jan Crommelinck and his family travelled south to St Quentin, whence his descendant Louis Crommelin left to establish a linen manufacture under royal patronage at Lisburn, Ireland in 1698. Other damask weavers seem to have been among a Remonstrant group that settled at Friedrichstadt in the Duchy of Slesvig-Holstein. Some of these emigrants left for religious reasons but others because the Revolt had left the economy of Flanders in a parlous state. It was not until the Archdukes Albrecht and Isabella restored a degree of stability early in the next century and the advent of the Twelve Years' Truce with the United Provinces between 1609 and 1621, that the economy recovered.<sup>20</sup>

Renewed hostilities after the ending of the Truce brought a renewed blockade of the Flemish ports which caused difficulties for the weaver-entrepreneurs in Kortrijk. Subsequently, regular occupation by French forces compounded the difficulties of access to foreign markets and also changed the focus of trade, from a Spanish to a French market which required different stock patterns. For example, Kortrijk was occupied when French forces captured a swathe of territory including Lille in 1667. With the Treaty of Nijmegen in 1678, Kortrijk was returned to Spain although most of the occupied lands were incorporated into the French state. The town was briefly occupied in 1684 and was again in French hands during the Nine Years' War. With the outbreak of the War of Spanish Succession, Kortrijk fell once more, being recaptured by the allies four years later, following the Duke of Marlborough's victory at Ramillies in 1706.<sup>21</sup> The impact of these political, religious and military events upon the trade with England is discussed in Chapter 4 and upon the stock patterns available in London in Chapter 9.

*b) Haarlem, Holland*

Of the damask weavers that left Kortrijk, the majority settled in Haarlem, although one or two initially went to Amsterdam and a small group to Alkmaar. In 1592, those in Haarlem determined,

to buy and sell and deliver as they were used to do in the raw to the Cortryck raw ell as the people have continued to do here in Haarlem these last eight or nine years amongst each other and thus the Merchants are by this authorised to continue.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>20</sup> For these events, refer to Israel (1982) & (1989B); Geyl (1932) & (1961).

<sup>21</sup> For these events, refer to Maddens (1990), 152-189; Childs (1991); and Chandler (1973).

<sup>22</sup> Haarlem, Gemeentearchief Hs100, 18 April 1592. The author is grateful to C. A. Burgers for this extract from the Guild regulations and its translation.

From the middle of the sixteenth century there was active competition between the Holland towns to attract skilled emigrants from the south. Incentives were offered such as tax privileges, interest free loans, subsidised housing, free citizenship and exemption from guild regulation.<sup>23</sup>

Haarlem offered many of these attractions but in addition, an established bleaching industry, linen weaving on a modest scale and an existing trade in linens with Westphalia and the southern Netherlands.<sup>24</sup> A further reason for settling in Haarlem may have been religious, as unlike some of the other Holland towns with Reformed councils, Haarlem from the *Alteratie* in 1577 was ruled by a city council of liberal Protestant regents supported by a minority of Roman Catholic regents. As a significant number of the Kortrijk damask weavers were Anabaptists and not members of the Reformed Church, such a tolerant regime would have been an advantage.<sup>25</sup> This was also of benefit to an international luxury trade seeking markets in Roman Catholic as well as Protestant states. It is significant that even after the imposition of a Reformed Council by Prince Maurits in 1618, damasks illustrating the story of the Annunciation continued to be woven in Haarlem.<sup>26</sup>

Apart from these advantages and the economic dislocation in Flanders, the nascent trade in Haarlem was encouraged and promoted by lavish commissions from the *Burgemeesters* and the States General. These were presented as diplomatic gifts to kings, princes and distinguished visitors. Several of these commissions were placed with the weaver-entrepreneur Passchier Lammertijn who was born in Kortrijk and first recorded in Haarlem in 1586 with two others as 'merchants in tablecloths'.<sup>27</sup> Lammertijn supplied several orders for England including two large parcels for James I and Henry, Prince of Wales.<sup>28</sup>

The home market was important for Haarlem damasks throughout the seventeenth century as well as overseas markets in the Empire, Scandinavia and England. There was increased competition in these export markets with the economic revival in the Spanish Netherlands particularly during the second quarter of the century. Subsequently, the economic crisis in the United Provinces in 1672 was a considerable setback. None the less fine damasks continued to be woven in Haarlem until 1750 and beyond.

### c) *Germany*

Presently, only glimpses may be caught of the development of the production of damask and diaper table linen in Saxony and Silesia. The lack of a comprehensive

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23 Hart (1993A).

24 In 1580, there were more than 40 bleacheries in the dunes to the north and south of the city, Greup-Roldanus (1936), 324. In 1556, 28 linen weavers were recorded in Haarlem, Sabbe (1975), I, 191.

25 For Anabaptists (Mennonites) in Haarlem, see Biesboer (1989).

26 Bièvre (1988) discusses the influence of the Council upon the arts in Haarlem.

27 For biography, see Burgers (1993).

28 For the development of the trade in Haarlem, see Mitchell (1997B).

understanding is in part owing to the lack of contact with scholars in eastern Germany between 1939 and the recent re-unification of the country. Diaper was imported into London in the late sixteenth century and the 1604 'Book of Rates' for the calculation of customs duties included, for the first time, rates for 'Sletia' damask and diaper tabling, towelling and napkinning. At this period English merchants were trading in linens including some napery through Gorlitz in Upper Lusatia, Dresden in eastern Saxony, Chemnitz in western Saxony and Greiffenberg, the Silesian town on the border with Upper Lusatia.<sup>29</sup> Although until the 1670s most shipments of napery were of diaper, they included modest quantities of damask in 1617 and 1618 before the upheavals of the Thirty Years War. This throws doubt on the conventional account that damask weaving was introduced in 1666 by the brothers Friedrich and Christian Lange, to Zittau according to van Ysselsteyn but to Grossschönau according to others. There is also confusion over the origin of the Langes, who are said to have been either Flemish or Dutch.<sup>30</sup>

In 1696, a London linen draper wrote that 'Sleasie-Damask . . . is not so fine nor of such curious works as [*Holland*-Damask], it being usually wrought all in Flowers, and with this farther difference, that it will not wear so white after washed'.<sup>31</sup> From about 1710, the quality of both design and manufacture improved dramatically and showed a vitality, desire for experiment and rapid response to changing fashion. This echoed the development of another burgeoning Saxon industry, that of porcelain at Meissen. Owing to these improvements and very favourable tariffs, German damasks enjoyed the lion's share of the English market between about 1710 and 1760.

#### d) *Ireland*

In the late seventeenth century Irish diaper was shipped to London from Dublin and an English inventory of 1699 included Irish damask napkins.<sup>32</sup> It is not clear where these early Irish damasks were woven. In 1698, Louis Crommelin, a Huguenot from St Quentin, established a linen manufacture at Lisburn near Belfast with support from William III. Despite assertions to the contrary, there is no evidence that he produced damask napery; he did, however, weave 'Holland diaper'.

In a recent article Brian Mackey identifies James Quin of Carlow, to the south of Dublin, as being one of the pioneers of damask weaving in Ireland. In 1711, the Irish Linen Board was founded and Quin received their financial support for his enterprise including a grant for teaching 'the mystery or trade of weaving damask linen'.<sup>33</sup> In 1714, Quin petitioned for a grant 'for having set up two damask looms in Lurgan near Belfast and in the vicinity

29 Baumann (1990), 185-190.

30 Ysselsteyn (1962), 32; Jaques (1968), 2; László (1976), 69; Prinnet (1982), 96; Henning (1990), 16.

31 J.F. (1696)\*, 13.

32 PRO, E190/143/1, 1685. 1699 DRAKE.

33 Mackey (1998).

of Lisburn'. In the second half of the century this area of the Lagan Valley and north Armagh was to become the centre of damask weaving. It seems, however, that the Quins remained in Carlow, for there are references to Michael Quin, presumably a kinsman of James, and to his daughter Mary who wove her name and the date 1734 into a tablecloth for Major William Cope, which is now in the Victoria and Albert Museum.<sup>34</sup> Mary Quin married one of her father's apprentices, William Byrne.<sup>35</sup> It is likely that their enterprise supplied the parcels of damasks for George II's royal household for some twenty years from the first order in 1737.

e) *Scotland, England and elsewhere*

In Scotland, the linen industry, which had existed since the Middle Ages, was similarly encouraged and cajoled by the Board of Trustees for Manufactures which was formed in 1727. As in Ireland, the focus was upon plain linens although determined efforts were made to improve the production of diaper by the employment of experts from the Low Countries. Although diaper may have been exported to London in some quantity in the middle of the eighteenth century, it seems that very little damask was of sufficient quality to find a ready sale in London until much later.

In England, plain linens were woven in several counties but little was of fine quality. Some diaper was also locally produced but it was only after the Restoration that diapers and huckabacks were woven on some scale in parts of Lancashire and Yorkshire, and in Darlington.<sup>36</sup> By the middle of the eighteenth century, these northern products had achieved a significant share of the English market for cheap figured linens. There are also references to the weaving of linen damasks at both Darlington and Maidstone but the level of production appears to have been small.

In France, in the seventeenth century, and in Russia and Sweden in the eighteenth century there were attempts to establish native damask weaving manufactures on the basis of the sort of import-substitution familiar in the case of other commodities. The attempts in France failed, but in Russia substantial enterprises were established in both Moscow and Yaroslavl early in the century, and at Vadstena in Sweden in 1753. Few, if any of these Russian or Swedish damasks were exported to England. Nevertheless, during certain periods French diapers, woven in Normandy, played a significant part in the English market for table linens.

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<sup>34</sup> V & A, T26-193.

<sup>35</sup> Mackey (1998).

<sup>36</sup> Stephenson (1757)\*, 119. 'We [in Ireland] are now surpassed in England in many branches of the manufacture; for instance in huckaback table linen in Yorkshire.'

## 2.4 HISTORIOGRAPHY

The corpus of specialist literature concerning damask and diaper table linen is extensive, but not weighty, for it is composed of a number of articles and exhibition catalogues but few books. The pioneering article by Auguste Voisin, 'Notice sur le damassé de Flandre et sur une serviette représentant la levée du Siège de Valenciennes en 1656', was published in the maiden volume of *Messenger des Sciences et des Arts de Belgique* in 1833.<sup>37</sup> It was another forty years before there was a quickening of interest in London with damask cloths being exhibited at meetings of the Royal Archaeological Institute in 1873 and the Society of Antiquaries in 1873, 1893 and 1902.<sup>38</sup> This interest was seemingly stimulated by the acquisition during the 1860s of a number of damasks and diapers, including a splendid napkin with the royal Tudor arms, by the South Kensington Museum (subsequently the Victoria and Albert Museum).<sup>39</sup> Notes on particular pieces were also published in *Notes & Queries*: from R. F. Cobbold in 1886 and A. Hartshorne in 1887.<sup>40</sup>

In 1891, Emil Kumsch, Keeper of Textiles at the Königliches Kunstgewerbe-Museum in Dresden published *Leinendamastmuster des XVII und XVIII Jahrhunderts*.<sup>41</sup> The book has a large format with a foreword briefly describing the development of the manufacture of linen damask in Germany, followed by twenty-five plates. Each of these is made up of excellent photographs of sections of tablecloths and napkins in the Museum's collection which are all printed to scale (Ill. 2.13). There are between four and eight of these photographs to each plate giving a total of 146 examples. Kumsch assigns all save five of the pieces to Saxony and gives them approximate dates. It is fortunate that he produced this marvellous book, for unhappily it appears that the collection was destroyed during the Second World War. It is surprising that neither the powerful comparative technique of printing several borders or sections of fields on one plate, nor the use of scale photographs has been used by other authors.

The Reverend C. H. Evelyn White who had exhibited a napkin at a meeting of the Society of Antiquaries in 1902, addressed the Society in 1904 and exhibited together with other Fellows eight damasks. The published paper described the importation and use of figured linen into England, followed by detailed notes on the exhibited pieces and 'a catalogue of the several examples at South Kensington'. White was unaware of the work of either Voisin or Kumsch for he wrote,

<sup>37</sup> Voisin (1833).

<sup>38</sup> Nightingale (1873); Watkiss Lloyd (1873); Farrer (1893); and White (1902). The piece exhibited by Farrer 'of the Annunciation' is probably that purchased by the V & A for £75 in 1902, 694-1902; similarly, that exhibited by White is probably V & A, T247-1927.

<sup>39</sup> Napkin with Tudor arms purchased for £50, V & A, 169-1869.

<sup>40</sup> Cobbold (1886); Hartshorne (1887), the first two pieces exhibited were sold at Sotheby's London, 15.5.1987, Lot 400.

<sup>41</sup> Kumsch (1891).

As there is absolutely no 'literature' connected with the subject, and as this is, I believe, the first time that damask linen embellished with designs of a pictorial character has been systematically considered, I have brought together particulars of such examples as I have been able to discover.<sup>42</sup>

In 1907, Albert Hartshorne referred to this paper by White when he exhibited several damasks explaining that,

Woven linen fabrics of this character have now become so scarce, and are, of course, likely to become more so, that no apology is offered for now bringing to the notice of the Society six further examples.<sup>43</sup>

Apart from this interest in Britain, the years between the turn of the century and the outbreak of the Great War saw the appearance of several articles and exhibition catalogues in Scandinavia and the Low Countries. In 1910, a large, well illustrated and beautifully produced monograph by A. F. Grjaznov on the factory at Yaroslavl, 1722-1856, was published in Moscow.<sup>44</sup> Exhibitions were held in 1907 at Stockholm and in 1913 at Copenhagen, with catalogues prepared by Gerda Cederblom and Elna Mygdal respectively, establishing a tradition which produced several scholars and spawned many exhibitions over the next forty years.<sup>45</sup> The most prolific of these Scandinavian scholars was Elisabeth Thorman of the Nordiska Museet in Stockholm, who published many articles and catalogues between 1933 and 1951, not only on Swedish damasks but also Russian and those from the Low Countries.<sup>46</sup>

In the Low Countries two notable collector-scholars published a number of articles; in Belgium, Baron Joseph de Bethune (Kortrijk, 1859-1920) and in the Netherlands, Jonkheer Prof. Dr Jan Six (Amsterdam, 1857-1926). Joseph de Bethune was a lawyer from an influential Kortrijk family who as his biographer writes,

*Sa santé toujours quelque peu chancelante son goût de la solitude, son amour des études d'art et d'archéologie et le désir de se donner plus complètement aux institutions qu'il soutenait, l'incitèrent à quitter la magistrature.*<sup>47</sup>

With his interest in the history of his native town, it is not surprising that he became fascinated with linen damasks and started to collect examples in about 1885. He included

42 White (1904), 134.

43 Hartshorne (1907), 367; two of the pieces exhibited were also included in the sale at Sotheby's on 15.5.1987 in Lot 400. Their original tags from 1907 with 'No IV' and 'No V Exhibited by Mr Hartshorne', were still attached.

44 Grjaznov (1910).

45 Cederblom (1907), Mygdal (1913).

46 Thorman (1941), (1950) & (1951). Much of the rest of her work is outside the period covered by this thesis - Topelius (1985) has an extensive bibliography which includes sixteen works by Thorman.

47 Dobbelaere (1923), 34.



a selection and wrote a catalogue for the exhibition that he organised in 1902 to celebrate the six hundredth anniversary of the Battle of the Golden Spurs.<sup>48</sup>

*C'était comme l'histoire complète de la cité; elle comprenait des objets d'art fabriqués ici, des tableaux, des vues de la ville et des coins pittoresques disparus, une admirable collection de damassés, des documents de tout genre.*<sup>49</sup>

In 1903 he was a founder member of 'le Cercle Archeologique et Historique de Courtrai' and published in its first *Bulletin*, 'Contribution à l'histoire des damassés courtraisienne'.<sup>50</sup> For the same journal he wrote two further articles concerned with linen, the first with the regulations for the industry and the second with the patterns produced to celebrate the victories over the Turks between 1683 and 1717.<sup>51</sup>

In an unpublished paper given at a colloquium in Kortrijk in 1986, 'Three Collectors of linen damasks, A selection from their collections', C. A. Burgers wrote about Joseph de Bethune, Jan Six and his father, G. J. Burgers. Of Six, he wrote,

Baron Jan Six, classicist, archaeologist and art historian, was a versatile and productive scholar, with wide interests. He was always susceptible for new ideas and unexplored fields of study. For many years he was intrigued by the history of linen damask, which he thought had never been researched or published before. He started collecting data (and damasks) and in 1908 published the first article. Between 1910 and 1915 another 5 articles followed.<sup>52</sup>

There is considerable variety in the subject matter of these six articles. Two of them 'Oud Tafellinen' and 'Zestiende eeuwse Damast' discuss the development of damask patterns using surviving examples. 'Kruiswerk, Lavender, Pavy, Pellen' is concerned with diaper patterns and attempts to 'match' inventory descriptions to existing pieces. 'De boedel van Quirijn Jansz. Damast' examines the considerable inventory of goods left unsold on the death of a substantial *marchand-manufacturier* and again suggests surviving pieces which meet the inventory descriptions. Six's two other articles consider the life and work of the remarkable Passchier Lamertijn who arguably produced the finest damasks ever woven.<sup>53</sup>

Between 1906 and 1913 De Bethune corresponded with Six; 'these letters express great appreciation for Professor Six's publications'.<sup>54</sup> De Bethune's admiration has been shared by others, for Six became the doyen of writers on the subject and his opinions the

48 Bethune (1902).

49 Dobbelaere (1923), 85.

50 Bethune (1903-4).

51 Bethune (1910-11) & (1912-13).

52 Burgers (1986)‡. Delivered at the Colloquium of 1 March 1986 in Kortrijk to mark the publication of the damask collection of the Kortrijk Museum. Other papers were read by Pauwels, Prinnet and Mitchell.

53 Six (1908), (1913A), (1912), (1910), (1913B & C), & (1915).

54 Burgers (1986)‡.

benchmarks for later surveys. One such survey was made by Marguerite Calberg who published a series of articles in Brussels in the thirties in the *Bulletin des Musées royaux d'Art et d'Histoire*.<sup>55</sup> These describe the development of linen damask patterns between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries. The articles published in 1936 contain an initial tribute to Six,

*Longtemps restée à l'état embryonnaire, cette étude [du linge damassé] a trouvé dans le Dr Jan Six un fervent promoteur. Les articles qu'il publia de 1908 à 1915 dans Het Huis et Oud Holland font surtout autorité en ce qui concerne les damassés de Haarlem . . .*<sup>56</sup>

A contemporary of Calberg in Amsterdam was Dr G. T. van Ysselsteyn whose linen damask studies culminated in the publication in 1962 of *White Figured Linen Damask*.<sup>57</sup> This was the first work to attempt to encompass the whole development of the weaving of linen damasks from their first appearance in the fifteenth century to the invention of the Jacquard loom in the nineteenth century. The book is essentially a catalogue of patterns, with a general 'Exposition', which describes the development of the weaving of linen damasks in various centres of production particularly the Low Countries, Saxony and Silesia, Ireland and Sweden. There are 425 catalogue entries, of which 121 are illustrated, grouped under the headings of armorials (59 entries); representations from the Bible (98 entries); classical representations (11 entries); representation of the joys of life (60 entries); of flowers (48 entries); of historical events (137 entries); and of cities (12 entries).

The catalogue entries include descriptions of the pattern, the dimensions of the pattern repeats, thread counts, an opinion as to the place of manufacture and date, a list of the collections containing examples of the pattern and where applicable, the literature.

Unfortunately the overall dimensions of the pieces are not given. This omission is regrettable as the overall widths of cloths were, by Guild regulation, distinct ratios of an ell; for example, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries tablecloths were normally woven in widths of 3 or 4 ells and occasionally 2½ in ells. Now as the basic measurement of the ell varied from one city or area to another, the overall width is a powerful indicator of the place of manufacture.<sup>58</sup>

Dr van Ysselsteyn was another admirer of Jan Six: 'Jonkheer Prof. Dr Jan Six whose interest dates from the early years of our century and whose five articles on the subject are

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<sup>55</sup> Calberg (1933) & (1936).

<sup>56</sup> Calberg (1936), 33.

<sup>57</sup> Ysselsteyn (1962).

<sup>58</sup> Napkins were also woven in different widths which are a guide to both place of manufacture and date. Another problem is that when several examples of the same pattern are listed under a single entry, neither the thread counts nor the photograph are identified with a particular example.

still our best guides'.<sup>59</sup> This mention of five articles points to the book's major weakness, its accuracy, for all six articles that Six appropriately published are listed in the Bibliography. In a review in the *Burlington Magazine* C. A. Burgers is similarly critical of this aspect of the work,

Alas! we must state that, as far as original research is used at all, it is sometimes incorrectly quoted while the descriptions of the objects are often slovenly, incomplete or inaccurate. Moreover, some hypotheses are advanced with a positiveness which implies they are facts . . . these faults, added to a number of technical deficiencies, threaten to overshadow the good points of the book.<sup>60</sup>

Despite its many faults, this pioneering work is invaluable, providing a vast amount of data within a usable framework. Perhaps even its aggravating inaccuracies and eccentric assertions are an encouragement or a goad for other scholars.

Following Kumsch, little work was done on German damasks until Margarete Braun-Ronsdorf's short book in 1955, *Alte Tafeldamaste*.<sup>61</sup> This was followed in 1968 by Renate Jaques who prepared a most thorough catalogue, with extensive technical notes, of twenty-two pieces from the collection at Krefeld.<sup>62</sup> Recently short articles have appeared in the Yearbooks of the Damast- und Heimatmuseum, Grossschönau.<sup>63</sup>

In 1982, Marguerite Prinnet's *Le Damas de lin historié du XIVe au XIXe siècle* was published by the Abegg Foundation.<sup>64</sup> In terms of size and scope, this was the major study since the publication of Dr van Ysselsteyn's book twenty years previously. The book is in two parts, with a number of appendices. The first part, 'Histoire de lin damassé', is in five chapters: the invention of linen damask, the spread of its production in Europe from the fifteenth to the nineteenth centuries, French manufacturers, French inventories, and the mechanisation of the industry in the nineteenth century. The second part, 'L'originalité artistique du damas de lin', has four chapters dealing with the layout of motifs, the themes and the evolution of style, the sources of inspiration and the problems of attribution.

Mlle Prinnet shares with Dr van Ysselsteyn the love of the *ex cathedra* statement coupled with a neglect of the significance of technical details such as the length of the ell and weave structure. Further, although the fine illustrations are often assigned to Kortrijk, Haarlem or Saxony, there is no systematic attempt to describe the basic characteristics of the products

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<sup>59</sup> Ysselsteyn (1962), 5.

<sup>60</sup> Burgers (1966).

<sup>61</sup> Braun-Ronsdorf (1955).

<sup>62</sup> Jaques (1968).

<sup>63</sup> Henning (1990), (1992) & (1994).

<sup>64</sup> Prinnet (1982).

from these various centres of production. Nevertheless, the book has undoubted strengths and there is much to be said for Donald King's statement that,

The novelty and the particular strength of this book, however, lies in the fact that it deals with this European production from a specifically French viewpoint. It contains a wealth of documentation, not available elsewhere, on the production and use of linen damasks in France, and the majority of the items catalogued and illustrated have been selected from French public and private collections.<sup>65</sup>

Subsequently three further books have appeared: two fully illustrated and detailed catalogues of the collection at the Kortrijk Museum by A. G. Pauwels and I. Bauwens-De Jaegere and a history of table linen in Denmark, *Damast og Drejl* [Damask and Twill] edited by Charlotte Paludan and Bodil Wiet-Knudsen.<sup>66</sup> The latter is based upon the results of a nationwide registration of Danish privately and publicly owned household linen carried out in the period 1963-74.<sup>67</sup>

Whilst these works were being written in Germany, Scandinavia and France, the field was dominated by a Dutch scholar, the successor to Jan Six, Cornelis [Kees] Burgers. Before joining the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam in 1966, he worked for his family's textile factory which produced damask and diaper napery as well as plain linens. He became Keeper of Textiles in 1980 and took early retirement in 1991. Before joining the Museum he had organised the first major exhibitions of seventeenth and eighteenth century damasks in the Netherlands at 's-Hertogenbosch in 1959 and Enschede in 1964.<sup>68</sup> During the 1980s he mounted several exhibitions of damasks at the Rijksmuseum and in 1997 together with Regular Schorta, one at the Abegg-Stiftung.<sup>69</sup> An international colloquium with seventeen papers on various aspects of linen damask design and production was held in connection with this exhibition. Burgers has a scrupulous and inquiring mind and is blessed with a remarkable visual memory. He has published many articles on a range of subjects including detailed studies of different groups of damasks, the re-use of motifs in damask patterns, the life and output of Passchier Lammertijn, and the use and care of napery. He is currently preparing a first volume of the linen damask catalogue of the Abegg-Stiftung collection.

This summary of the subject's historiography illustrates that the overwhelming concern has been the study of surviving damasks, in particular their patterns and weaving structures, to enable conclusions to be drawn as to their date, country of manufacture and in the case of bespoke or personalised stock patterns, the identity of the commissioner. The organisation

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<sup>65</sup> King (1982).

<sup>66</sup> Pauwels & De Jaegere (1986) & (1996).

<sup>67</sup> Paludan & Wieth-Knudsen (1989), 273.

<sup>68</sup> Burgers (1959) & (1964).

<sup>69</sup> Burgers (1990) & (1991). Burgers & Schorta (1997).

of the process of design and manufacture of figured linens, and their marketing and sale in overseas and home markets has been of secondary concern. In addition, little work has been published on the pattern of ownership; the relative size and costs of individual holdings; and the types of cloths, with their sizes and numbers, generated by differing dining ceremonies.

None the less debts abound: to Kumsch for his powerful comparative technique; to Six and De Bethune for considering the damasks they loved not only as artefacts of antiquarian interest but also as manufactured products with social and economic contexts; to van Ysselsteyn, Pauwels and De Jaegere for their wealth of data and photographs; to Jaques for the technical analysis of weave structure; to Prinnet for her allied study of table linen in France; and last, but by no means least, to Burgers for models of closely-argued, exhaustive studies of diverse aspects of the subject.

## 2.5 COLLECTIONS AND COLLECTORS

Although there are significant public collections of linen damasks woven before 1750 in Scandinavia and Germany, the four major collections in the world are those of the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam; the Stedelijke Musea, Kortrijk; the Victoria and Albert Museum, London; and the Abegg-Stiftung, Riggisberg, which has recently incorporated much of the Burgers Collection. It is difficult to be precise about their respective sizes as the collections are still growing and have different inventory systems. However, the collections in Kortrijk and London have more than 400 pieces and those in Amsterdam and Riggisberg three or four times that number.

The collection of the Victoria and Albert Museum was the most important source for this thesis, although that in Kortrijk and the Burgers Collection were extensively used for comparative purposes. Another important source was a private English collection. As this consists largely of acquisitions bought in the saleroom, individual damasks are referenced with details of the auction house, date of the sale, and lot number.

### a) *Victoria and Albert Museum Collection*

The ancestor of the Victoria and Albert Museum was the Museum of Manufacture which opened in Marlborough House in 1852. Its title was changed to the Art Museum and then to the Museum of Ornamental Art before it moved to its present site in 1857, when its name was changed yet again to the South Kensington Museum. This it remained until 1899 when it became the Victoria and Albert Museum.

The initial collections housed in Marlborough House had two principal provenances: firstly, the collections of the London School of Design, founded in 1837 and situated in

Somerset House; secondly, the objects purchased at the Great Exhibition of 1851, with a grant of £5,000 from the Treasury, 'selected without reference to styles but entirely for the excellence of their art of workmanship'.<sup>70</sup> There were no textiles in the collections of the London School of Design and although there were a number of fine linen damasks shown at the Great Exhibition none were bought with the Treasury grant.<sup>71</sup> It was two years later in 1853 that the first linen damasks entered the collection. These were two new napkins with floral designs presented by their manufacturer, Mr Erskine Beveridge of Dundee.<sup>72</sup> That these pieces were the founder members of the collection is ironic in view of Anna Somers Cocks's observations in *The Victoria and Albert Museum, The Making of the Collection*,

The visitor to . . . Marlborough House in the 1850s would have seen little in the way of textiles, but he would have been confronted with a kind of negative display, the 'Chamber of Horrors' in which Cole ['the Director'] had put examples of the kind of industrial design which he was convinced should be avoided, and large numbers of contemporary textiles in particular seemed to fall into this category.<sup>73</sup>

As protests from manufacturers and the mockery of the press closed down this negative display, neither Cole's opinion of the napkins nor Beveridge's reaction to the 'Chamber of Horrors' are known.

During the next decade the museum was in the vanguard of fashion by beginning to collect textiles seriously, including several large purchases from Dr Franz Bock. In an unpublished paper Karel Otavsky states,

Franz Bock's reputation is a very bad one. We reproach him for his unscrupulousness in collecting and selling textiles and accuse him of plundering sacristies and cutting up liturgical vestments. And we tend to assume that all of this was for pecuniary reasons only. I ask myself if this image of Franz Bock is not a little exaggerated . . .<sup>74</sup>

This is not the place to either condemn or justify 'Scissors' Bock but Otavsky makes two important points to explain his collecting of samples and their subsequent sale. Firstly, according to his own remarks, the beginnings of his textile collection were closely linked with his research. Because he was unable to make drawings suitable for use as illustrations, the only possibility open to him was to gather together as many samples as

<sup>70</sup> *History of the V & A* (1976), 5.

<sup>71</sup> Somers Cocks (1980), 95. The only textiles purchased were some 'modern Indian textiles, mostly silk ribbons shot with silver and gold thread'.

For linen damasks in the Great Exhibition, refer to Gloag (1970).

<sup>72</sup> *V & A* 878 & 879 - 1853.

<sup>73</sup> Somers Cocks (1980), 95.

<sup>74</sup> Otavsky (1985)‡.

possible which could be used as models for woodcuts and chromolithographs. Secondly, by 1860 he had finished writing *Die Geschichte der liturgischen Gewänder* and had published a portfolio *Die Musterzeichner des Mittelalters*. 'At this stage he did not need his collection any more and made the decision to give it in its entirety to a public museum.'<sup>75</sup> Only when he was unable to find a museum to accept the conditions accompanying the gift, did he divide the collection into several parcels, which he sold over the next twenty years to different museums. The initial sales in 1860, 1863 and 1864 were to the South Kensington Museum. They comprised several hundred pieces, including nine examples of diaper and linen damask. A further purchase in 1877 contained three diaper pieces. A rarity among these parcels is a napkin with drawn threadwork hems and fine lace at either end. Although such pieces are known from inventory entries and paintings, very few have survived.<sup>76</sup>

Sandwiched between the Bock purchases of 1864 and 1877 were two gifts and an important purchase. The latter was a magnificent napkin with the Tudor arms, encircled by the garter, within a renaissance frame. It was bought in 1869 for the considerable sum of £50 and presaged the Museum's understandable partiality for damasks with British historical connections (Ill. 9.16).<sup>77</sup> There was a hiatus between 1877 and 1888 when a large collection of textiles was bought from Jakob Krauth of Frankfurt.<sup>78</sup> This consisted of pieces of fabric cut in the Bock tradition and tacked to large sheets of stiff paper. There were 150 of these sheets with 349 specimens, for which £91 was paid. Thirty-seven of these specimens were either of diaper or linen damask. Krauth also provided lists of the pieces with opinions on their place and date of manufacture. Most of the damasks have patterns of flowers or heraldic devices with modest repeats. Despite this, they are very important, for although it is clear from inventory entries that such patterns were common, very few have survived. Krauth thought that they were woven in the seventeenth century in Saxony and both the Museum handlist and several authors have accepted his opinion. However, it is argued below that a number of the pieces are earlier and from either the Low Countries or France (see Chapter 9.2 and Ills 9.2 & 9.9).<sup>79</sup>

Between 1888 and the outbreak of war in 1914, 63 more pieces were either bought or given. The purchases included two fine pieces with the Tudor arms and devices, and a wonderful sixteenth century napkin of the *Annunciation* (Ills 2.7, 9.18, & 9.24). This

<sup>75</sup> Otavsky (1985)†.

<sup>76</sup> V & A, 8648-1863.

<sup>77</sup> In 1860, the sensational bronze portrait bust of the Emperor Rudolf II by Adriaen de Fries was bought for £89.5.0. Henry Cole was paid £1000 per annum as Director and John Charles Robinson £300 as Curator.

<sup>78</sup> Jakob Krauth was not a scholar like Franz Bock. In November 1885 he had offered the Museum plaster casts of part of the carved decoration at Heidelberg Castle, and signed the letter 'Jakob Krauth Sculptor'. He then offered the collection of textiles in February 1888, followed in the next month by a collection of bookbindings and coloured papers.

<sup>79</sup> V & A, Minute Paper 1413a/1888.

napkin had been exhibited in the Ecclesiastical Art Exhibition in Norwich in 1895. It was sent to the Museum on approval in 1902. The registered papers include two short reports,

Linen Damask representing the Annunciation, early 16th century.

There is nothing in the Museum like this fine example of damask weaving.

A. F. Kendrick [Keeper of Textiles]

This is quite the most important damask weaving I have seen  
and I hope we may be able to secure it for the Museum.

A. B. Skinner [Assistant Director]<sup>80</sup>

This hope was fulfilled, for Council approved the purchase in the sum of £75.<sup>81</sup> Although this was a staggering price, it is significant that this piece, together with the Tudor arms napkin bought in 1869 for £50, are still considered two of the highlights of the collection.

Between 1853 when the first damasks were collected, until 1900, the rate of acquisition was modest save for the Krauth purchase. Thereafter about four pieces per annum have been regularly acquired with an inevitable hiatus during the Second World War. The method of acquisition, however, has changed dramatically as up to 1914, 77 per cent of pieces were purchased and 23 per cent donated, whereas from 1914 to the present less than 10 per cent have been purchased.

Although the Museum always seems to have had a predilection for acquiring damasks with British historical connections, such as Royal armorials and Marlborough victories, this must have been easier to satisfy during the early period when the majority of the pieces were bought rather than given. None the less, two results of this policy are noticeable both before and after 1914, for since the Bock and Krauth acquisitions, very few diapers have been acquired and despite the large numbers of floral patterns produced in both the Low Countries and Germany, there are comparatively few in the collection.<sup>82</sup>

A further feature of acquisition which is important for this thesis, is the provenance of each piece. Fortunately, the immediate provenance is indicated in the Museum's registered papers but previous owners are rarely known. Thus, the author has assumed that the pieces acquired in the United Kingdom, from those with British surnames, have been in the country since they were made. Obviously, this is a crude assumption, but seems likely to

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<sup>80</sup> V & A, Registered Papers Norton 85987/1902.

<sup>81</sup> This was the highest figure paid for a linen damask in the period 1853-1984. In real terms, £75 in 1902 is equivalent to some £7,500 today. In recent years, the highest price paid for a single napkin by any collection is thought to be about £2,500.

<sup>82</sup> These features are shared with the collection in Kortrijk.



be true for most pieces, at least until the last thirty-five years with the growth of the sale of damasks by the international auction houses.

There is no catalogue of the collection save for a handlist which consists of entries for each piece prepared on its acquisition. Accordingly the recorded opinions as to date, place of manufacture and historical significance span the period from 1853 to 1998. The author has therefore re-assessed the handlist which has resulted in disagreement in two main areas. Firstly, as mentioned previously, it seems that a number of the Krauth pieces were woven in the Low Countries in the first half of the sixteenth century rather than in seventeenth-century Saxony. Secondly, about thirty of the eighteenth century pieces which are in the handlist as being either Dutch or Flemish, were clearly woven in Germany. A summary of this re-assessment is shown below.

TABLE 2.1 BREAKDOWN OF VICTORIA AND ALBERT MUSEUM COLLECTION BY DATE AND PLACE OF MANUFACTURE, 1853-1996

PLACE OF MANUFACTURE	PROPORTION BY CENTURY (%)				TOTALS
	16TH	17TH	18TH	19TH	
Flanders & Holland	9	17	5	-	31
Germany	-	4	19	-	23
Ireland & Scotland <sup>a</sup>	-	-	12	22	34
Miscellaneous					12 <sup>b</sup>

*Notes*

- a Ireland & Scotland includes a small number of English pieces.  
 b Miscellaneous includes most diapers plus some Russian, French, Swedish and all twentieth century damasks.

*b) Joseph de Bethune and the Kortrijk Collection*

Joseph de Bethune probably started to collect damasks about 1885 when he abandoned the legal profession. In 1888 he became a member of the commission that administered the Musée d'Archéologie which had been founded in 1873. Three years later, he proposed '*la proposition de former une collection sérieuse d'étoffes et de tissus anciens*', and that linen damasks should be purchased.<sup>83</sup> In 1895, he gave a number of napkins to the Museum. His personal collection continued to grow and his correspondence with Jan Six reveals that by 1911 his collection contained 88 tablecloths. That he intended to publish a catalogue is also evident from a letter to Six of 9 July 1913,

*Dans le but de publier un catalogue illustré de ma collection, j'ai fait faire photographies, à titre d'essai, d'un damassé. Mais notre meilleur photographe, très habile cependant, ne parvient pas à faire quelque chose de bon. Il doit-y avoir un 'truc' qu'il ne savait pas.*<sup>84</sup>

<sup>83</sup> Dobbelaere (1923), 59.

<sup>84</sup> Quoted in Burgers (1986)‡. The letters were in the possession of the Hon. Miss C. I. Six.

In the Kortrijk Museum is a plain brown-covered lined exercise book written by De Bethune, presumably in preparation for this proposed catalogue.<sup>85</sup> It appears to be a series of fair copies of previous notes and contains entries numbered 1 to 92.<sup>86</sup> The collection contained more pieces, however, for on a plain leaf at the end of the book is a list of further numbers (including '184 Samaritane') 'à photographeur'. That the book was still in use in 1914 is indicated by a note on page 7 referring to an exchange in that year. The entries generally contain a title, the dimensions, a description of the registers (entitled 'zone') and the borders. In certain cases the provenance and purchase price are given and occasionally a reference to Six's articles. The notes on provenance show the close links with Six; '56. *Echangé avec J. Six, Amsterdam*', '82. *Acheté par l'intermédiaire de Jn. J. Six août 1912*'. De Bethune also 'swopped' pieces with others, for example '51. *Echangé avec le Musée d'Amsterdam 1908*', and '71. *Echangé avec le Musée de Middleburg 1910*'.

Although he does not appear to have articulated a distinct acquisition policy for the collection, a preference for certain categories is clear,

. . . historical subjects interested him, as can be seen from his publication 'Courtrai et les guerres de Turquie' (1913); biblical and mythological subjects: perhaps hunting scenes; flower pattern and 'décor divers' were considered less important. Damasks woven in Haarlem, showing coats of arms, attracted him greatly . . . When making purchases the condition and price of the pieces were prime considerations.<sup>87</sup>

The outbreak of the Great War apparently brought De Bethune's correspondence with Six to an end and shortly after the war in 1920 he died, leaving his collection to the Museum.

On 2 July 1944, after the D-Day landings in Normandy, the marshalling yards in Kortrijk were bombed to prevent German reinforcements reaching the front. Unfortunately, the Museum was hit by incendiary bombs and burnt to the ground. The linen collection which had been folded and packed in steel trunks was severely damaged, with many of the pieces being scorched where their folds touched the edges of the trunks, and others completely destroyed. Starting in 1983 the collection was restored and photographed, and in 1986 a

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85 Untitled brown-covered lined exercise book 21cm H x 17cm W x 1.1 cm thick. Blackened in the top right-hand corner, presumably by the fire in 1944. Written in French. Entries are titled and numbered from 1 in top right-hand corner of right-hand page. Entries are always on right-hand page in black ink. On the left-hand pages, notes sometimes occur, generally in pencil (possibly made at a later date); sometimes under the title is a pencilled attribution, e.g. 'Courtrai'. A. G. Pauwels identifies the writing as De Bethune's. This is supported by a note on page 35 'Donné au Musée et racheté par Moi en 18 . . .'

86 It seems the book was prepared with numbers and titles in pencil and subsequently filled in - some notes prepared for such an exercise are tucked into page 33.

87 Burgers (1986)‡.

catalogue was published in conjunction with an exhibition and colloquium.<sup>88</sup>

Subsequently numerous acquisitions were made by gift, exchange and purchase. Some of these were exhibited in an exhibition 'Aanwinsten Damask' in 1989 and others in 1996 to coincide with the publication of a second catalogue.<sup>89</sup>

c) *G. J. and C. A. Burgers and the Abegg-Stiftung Collection*

In his Kortrijk paper of 1986, C. A. Burgers described how his father, Gerard Johan Burgers, after a technical training in Germany and the Netherlands had become director of a damask and linen weaving mill in Boxtel just before the Great War.

He had a profound interest in history and a lively sense of tradition. At what time he became actively interested in old table linen is not known - his first notes on the subject date around 1930, although he had by then already acquired several pieces, inherited in his family. At this time he started collecting and studying this subject, searching for facts on technical aspects of old damask.<sup>90</sup>

After his death in 1956, his son extended the collection very considerably, so that it rivalled in size the largest public collections. In scope it was probably wider, for 'Kees' Burgers with his interest in weaving techniques, the development of the Dutch botanical print, and his knowledge of woven silks collected many damasks with floral and 'silk' patterns that are not well represented in most public collections.

Recently much of the Burgers Collection was acquired by the Abegg-Stiftung, Riggisberg.<sup>91</sup> The Foundation had collected linen damasks, along with a wide range of textiles for some years, and in 1982 mounted an exhibition in conjunction with the publication of Marguerite Prinet's book.<sup>92</sup> In 1997, a number of heraldic damasks from the Burgers collection were exhibited.<sup>93</sup> 'Kees' Burgers is currently preparing a first volume of a catalogue of the complete collection.<sup>94</sup>

## 2.6 DOCUMENTARY SOURCES

The documentary sources for this thesis fall into three main groups: inventories, the Lord Steward's records of the royal household, and customs records. The inventory sample is used in most chapters, as to a lesser extent are the royal household records, whilst customs documents form the basis for the two chapters concerned with supply.

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<sup>88</sup> Pauwels & De Jaegere (1986).

<sup>89</sup> Pauwels & De Jaegere (1996).

<sup>90</sup> Burgers (1986)†.

<sup>91</sup> A detailed survey of the Burgers Collection will be included in Burgers (1999).

<sup>92</sup> *Leinendamaste* (1982).

<sup>93</sup> See Burgers & Schorta (1997).

<sup>94</sup> Burgers (1999).

a) *Inventory sample*

In collecting the sample, which is strictly speaking a data set, inventories were sought which contained figured table linen together with other household goods with suitable valuations, so that the documents could be analysed using the following groupings of items: table linen, other household linens, plate, jewellery, and furniture and furnishings.<sup>95</sup> Over the period between 1450 and 1750, some 600 inventories that met these requirements were found. In addition some 400 other inventories were included in the sample which were damaged, incomplete or valued items in groups, which precluded such analysis. Of these, a number were attainer or household inventories which did not include valuations at all. The reasons for using these inventories were various: for example, some contained lists of napery with details of the individual cloths such as dimensions and pattern descriptions, whilst others provided important insights into the storage and washing of linen or the furnishings of dining chambers.

The final sample resulted from the inspection of several thousand inventories from three main sources. Firstly, some 830 probate inventories, dating between 1450 and 1660, from the Prerogative Court of Canterbury were studied at the Public Record Office (PRO PCC Prob.2).<sup>96</sup> This source provided about 40 per cent of the sample; many of the deceased were wealthy with holdings of fine napery and competent inventory clerks had been employed by their executors.

Secondly, a further 700 probate inventories, mostly dating between 1600 and 1740, from the London Orphans' Court were studied at the Corporation of London Record Office at the Guildhall (CLRO Orphans' Court inventories). This collection had been previously used by Peter Earle as the principal source for *The Making of the English Middle Class*. Earle used a sample of 375 citizens from the more than 3,000 inventories in the collection, which he warned was not 'a random sample' in the statistical sense. He continued,

the nature of the sources used means that the sample contains few very old men, since 'orphans' were defined as children under twenty-one when their citizen fathers died. It also contains no bachelors or childless men and, perhaps more seriously, no men who were not citizens of London. This means that such important middling people as lawyers and physicians are not represented and neither are commercial people who declined to take up the freedom of the City of London, a growing proportion of the middle station as the period continues.<sup>97</sup>

These comments also apply to the some 300 Orphans' Court inventories included in the inventory sample for this thesis, although they are substantially different to Earle's, owing

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<sup>95</sup> Some inventories with just plain table linen were included as a control.

<sup>96</sup> For operation of the Court, see Kitching (1976).

<sup>97</sup> Earle (1989), 394-5.

to the diverse aims of the two works. The thesis sample used the inventories of the wealthier individuals and certain specialised groups, such as linen drapers and overseas merchants identified by Earle, but principally resulted from an inspection of the inventories of most of the members of the twelve great livery companies.<sup>98</sup>

Thirdly, a wide-ranging selection of several thousand printed inventories was studied in county archaeological and historical journals, found largely from Mark Overton's *Bibliography of British Probate Inventories*.<sup>99</sup> The great majority of these contained neither diaper or damask table linen but about 200 proved suitable and were included in the sample.

In addition to these three main sources, other inventories, some of which were very extensive, were found in the Exchequer records of the Public Record Office and in the British Library. Together with documents from county record offices and country houses, these miscellaneous inventories accounted for 8 per cent of the sample. The inventory sample is detailed in Appendix A and a summary of the main sources is given below.

TABLE 2.2 SUMMARY OF SOURCES OF INVENTORY SAMPLE, 1450-1750

INVENTORY SOURCE	APPROX. NUMBERS	PROPORTION (%)
PRO PCC Probate 2	400	40
CLRO Orphans' Court	310	31
Printed inventories from Archaeological Journals, etc	210	21
Misc. Manuscripts	80	8
TOTALS	1000	100

Clearly, the inventory sample does not provide a cross-section by status, occupation or geography of even the wealthier section of society, particularly after 1660 when it is heavily weighted towards London merchants and tradesmen. This has implications for how it can be used which are discussed in the relevant chapters.

#### b) *Royal household records*

The affairs of the 'offices' within the royal household concerned with the supply and care of table linen, the Ewery and the Laundry, are contained within the records of the Lord Steward's department (PRO, LS). Few of these survive from the early seventeenth century, but from 1660 until 1750 almost all of the books containing budgets, accounts,

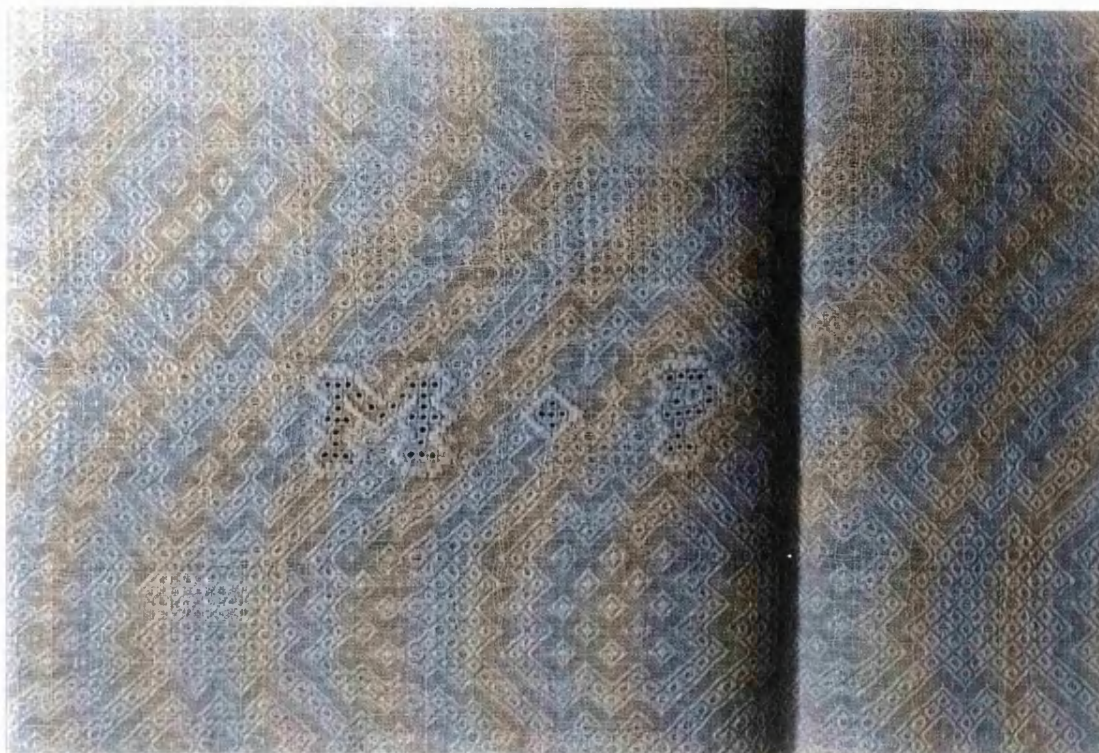
<sup>98</sup> All the inventories were inspected belonging to members of the following companies (with their company's rank in brackets); Mercers (1), Drapers (3), Fishmongers (4), Goldsmiths (5), Merchant Taylors (6), Skinners (7), Salters (9), Clothworkers (12) and Dyers (13). A number of inventories of members of other companies were also seen, particularly those from the Grocers (2), Haberdashers (8) and Vintners (11) companies.

<sup>99</sup> Overton (1983). Some inventories were also found in Mély & Bishop (1892).

yearly tradesmen's contracts and memoranda are found in the Public Record Office. These were all extensively used in this thesis.

c) *Customs records*

Before the re-organisation of the Customs in 1565, a number of accounts survive for the subsidy of tunnage and poundage, and for Petty Custom (PRO E122). These were inspected but did not provide enough data for any significant analysis. However, between 1565 and 1697, some seventy London Port Books survive to enable imports of table linen by English merchants and merchant strangers to be analysed and compared for certain periods (PRO, E190). The London Port Books do not survive after 1697, but summaries of imports are included in the Inspector General's Ledgers (PRO Cust.3). These are not so useful for this thesis as the port books, because they include neither the ports of lading nor the consignees. Accordingly, they were sampled only at five-year intervals.

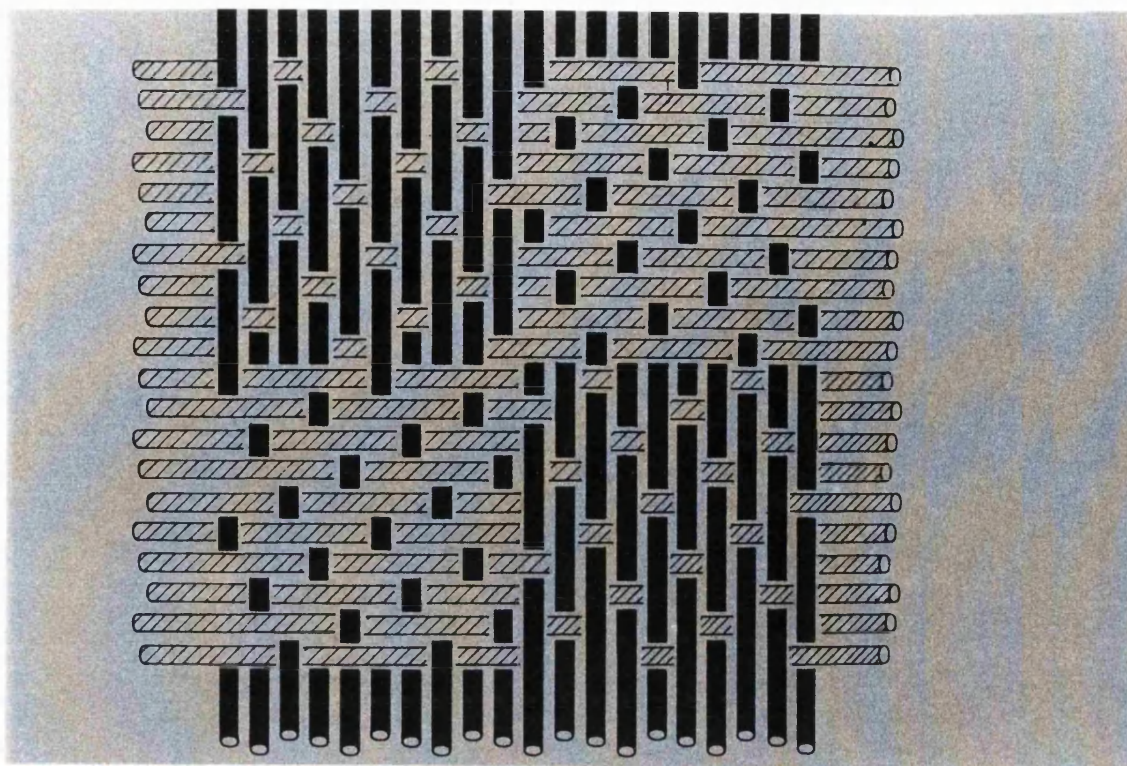


III. 2.1 Detail of fine quality diaper with a pattern of cross diamonds.  
Low Countries, c.1600 (possibly earlier).



III. 2.2 Damask napkin with a portrait of the Archduke Leopold who relieved Kortrijk in 1648. The date is given by a chronogram within the inscription.  
Kortrijk, 1648, 69 by 104 cm.





III. 2.3 Diagram of damask with binding of satin of 5.

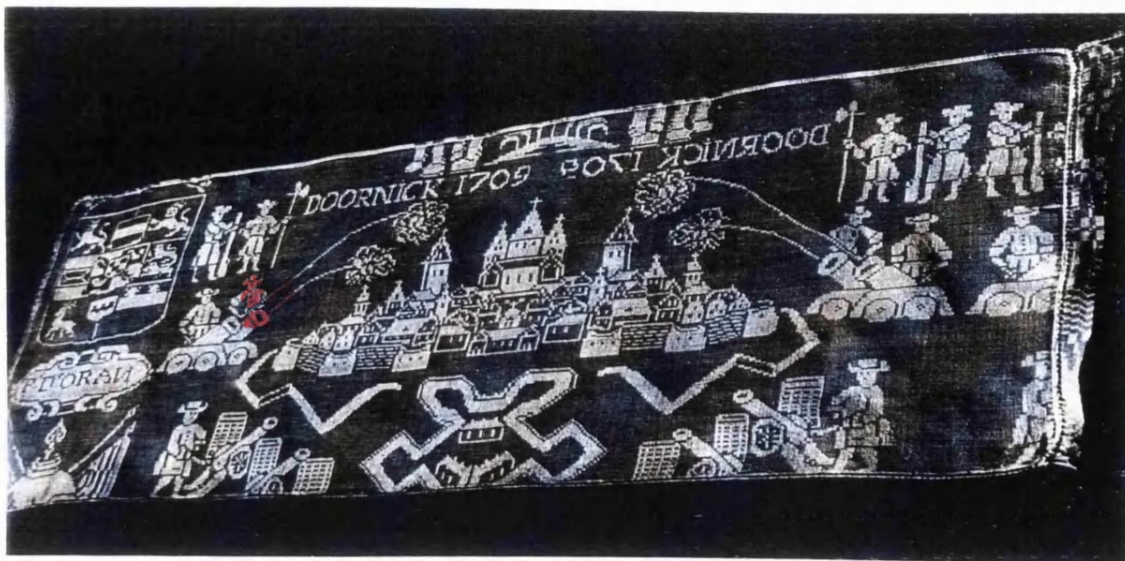
Basically, the warp threads float over or under four weft threads and under or over the fifth. In satin of 7, they float over or under six, and under or over the seventh.



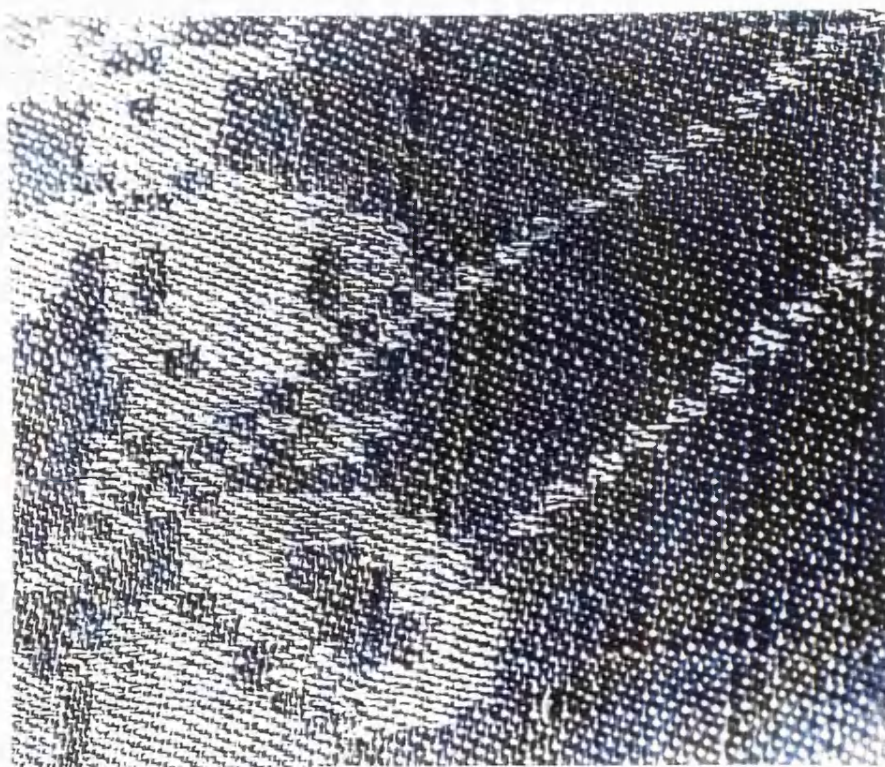
III. 2.4 Detail of damask with binding of satin of 5.

Magnification approximately eight times.

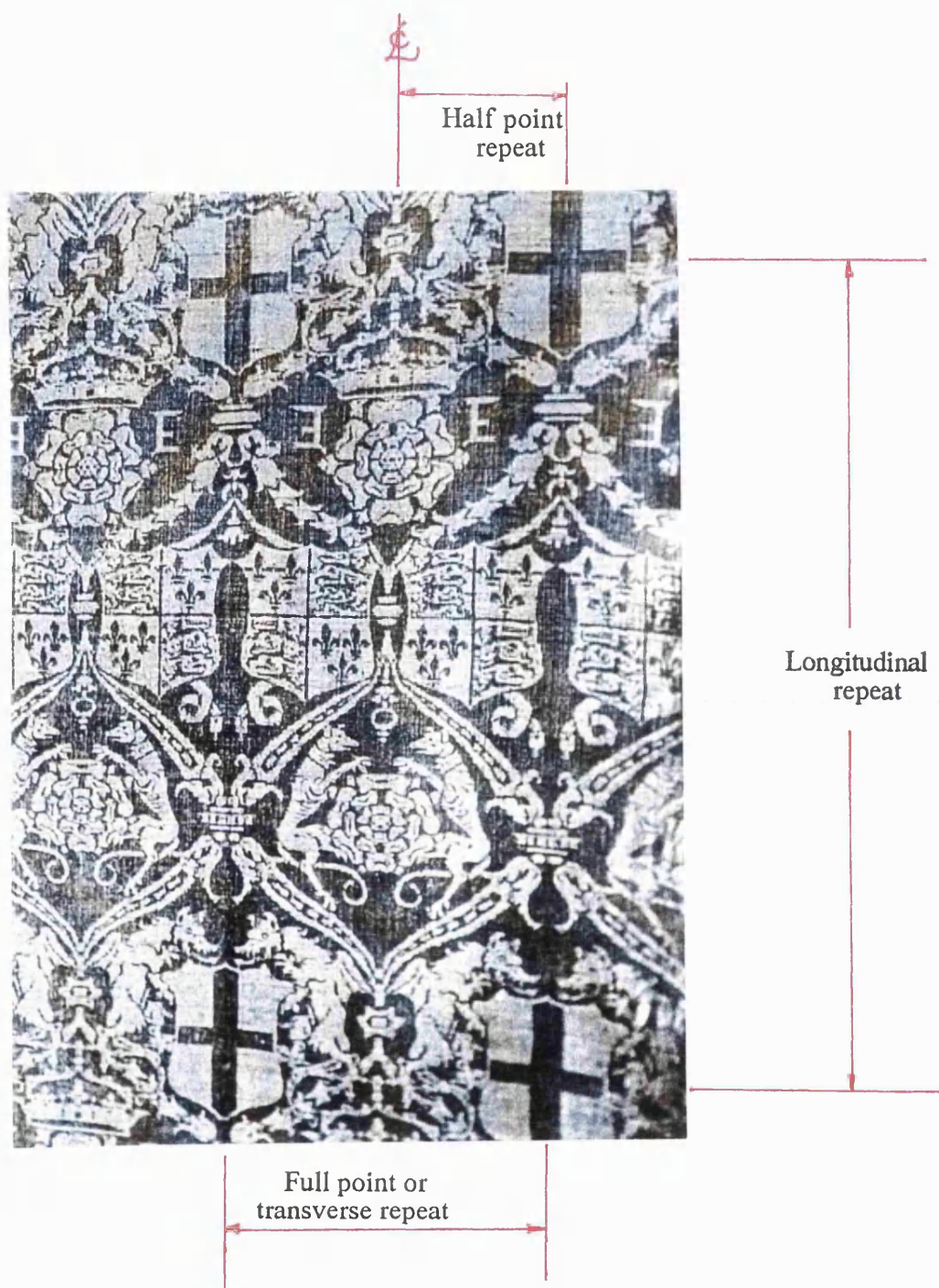




Ill. 2.5 Tablecloth fragment with the siege of Tournai [DOORNICK in Dutch]. Kortrijk, 1709.

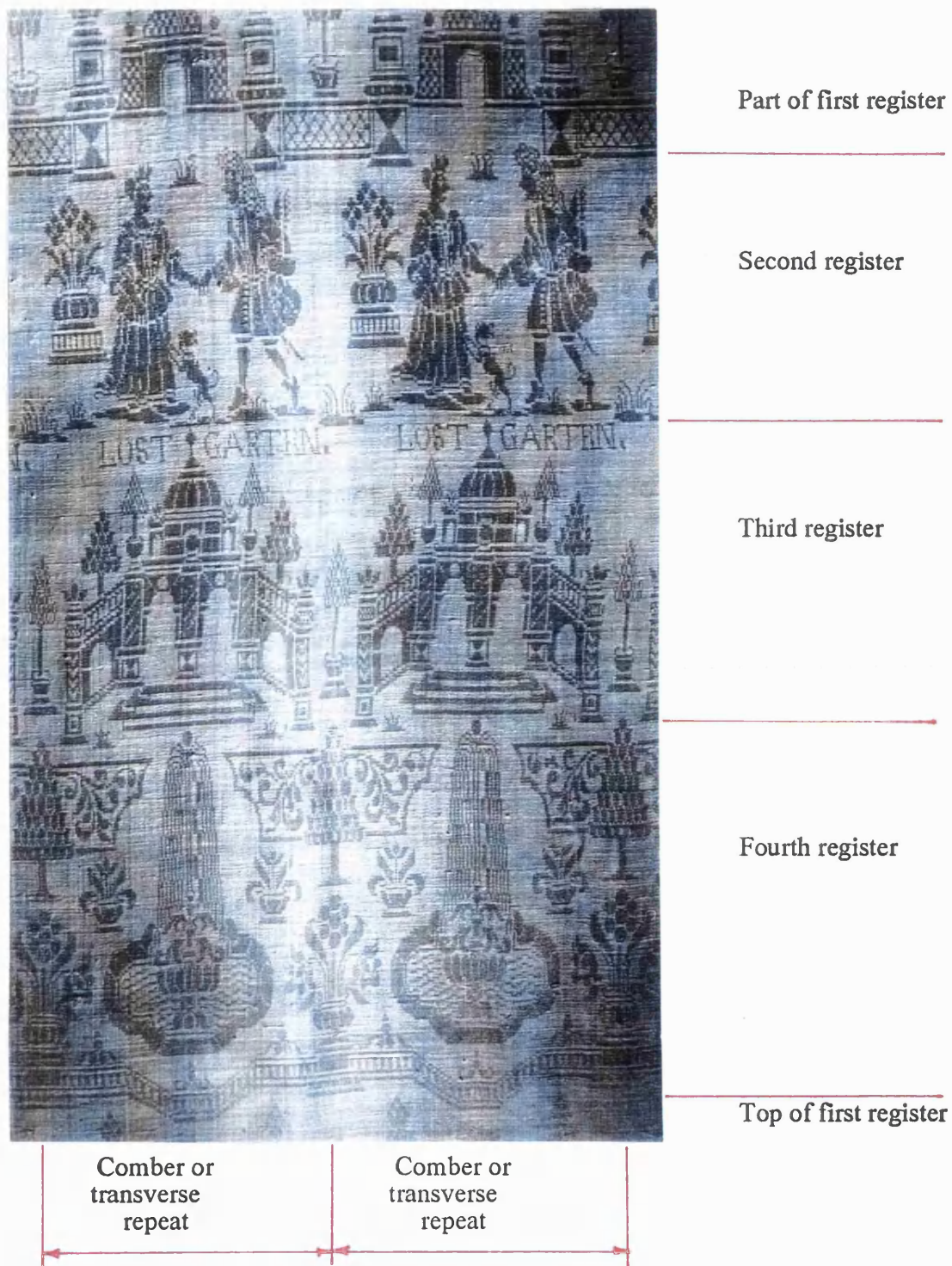


Ill. 2.6 Detail of Ill. 2.5 showing the bombardier firing the first mortar to the left of the city.  
Magnification from original linen, approximately  $2\frac{1}{2}$  times.



III. 2.7 Point repeat. (NB: Some authors refer to one half of the image as the point repeat which in this thesis is considered as the half point repeat.)  
 Tablecloth made of towel lengths sewn selvedge to selvedge. Kortrijk, c.1547.



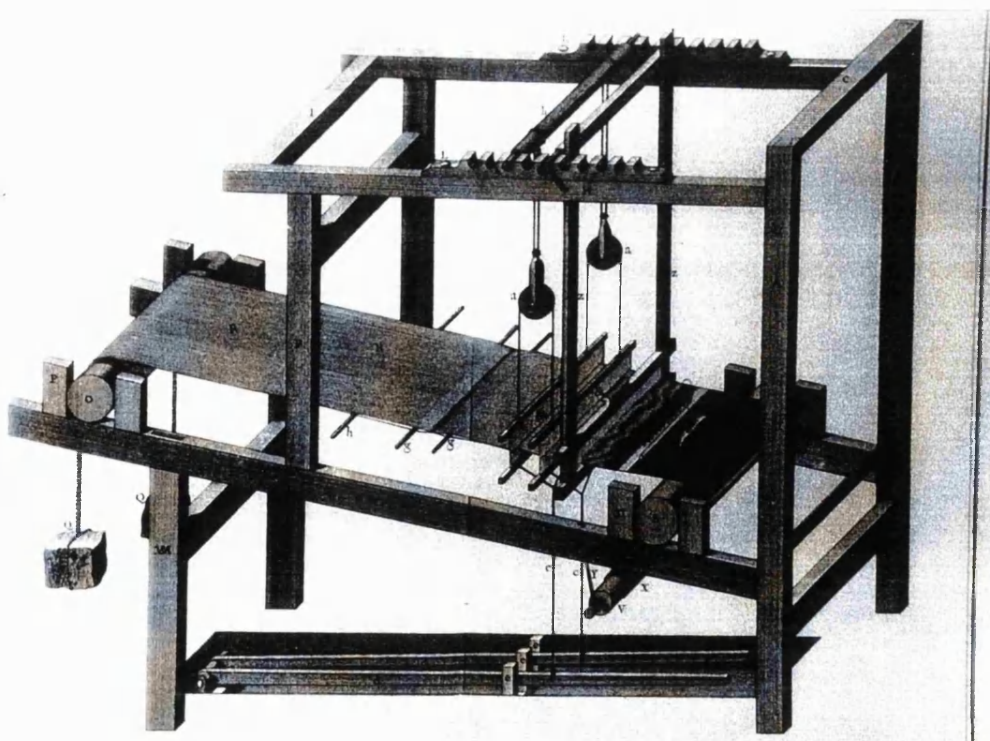


- III. 2.8 Comber repeat. (NB: The inscription does not reverse across the cloth as in point repeat.)  
 Detail of tablecloth with a pleasure garden. Saxony, 1705-10, 186 (3 Saxon ells) by 196 cm.  
 Satin of 5, comber repeat of 26 cm, longitudinal repeat of 107 cm, warp 30 th./cm, weft 20 th./cm.



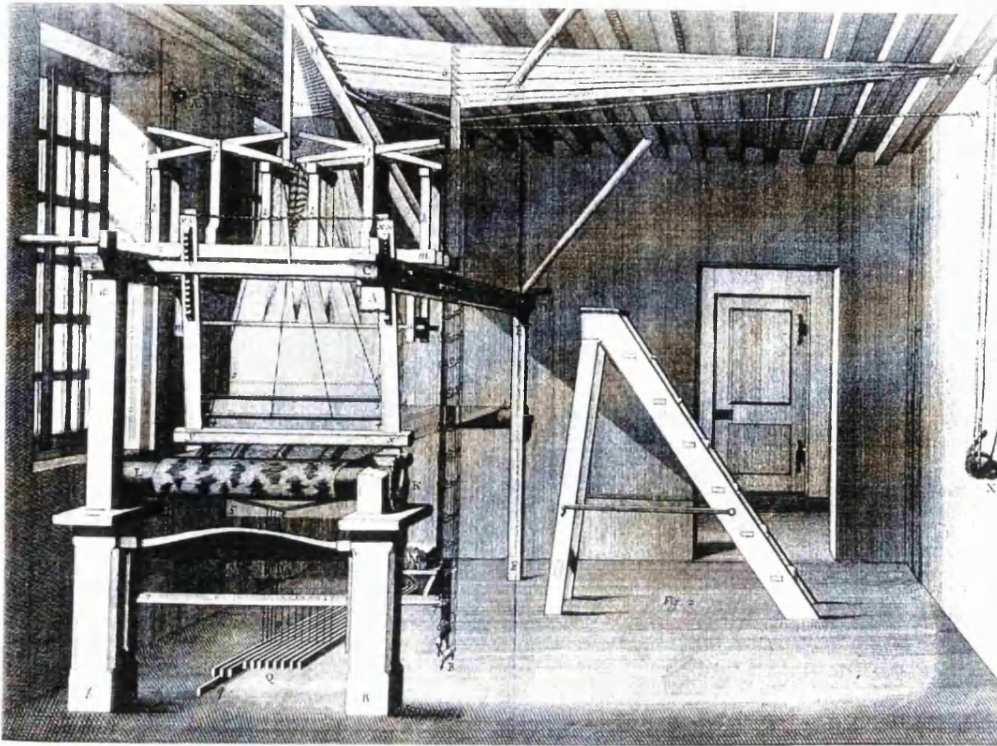
Ill. 2.9  
Shaft loom. *Der Weber*, Jost  
Amman, 1568.

A woollen fabric in tabby weave is being produced on this two shaft loom. A loom for plain linens would have been similar.

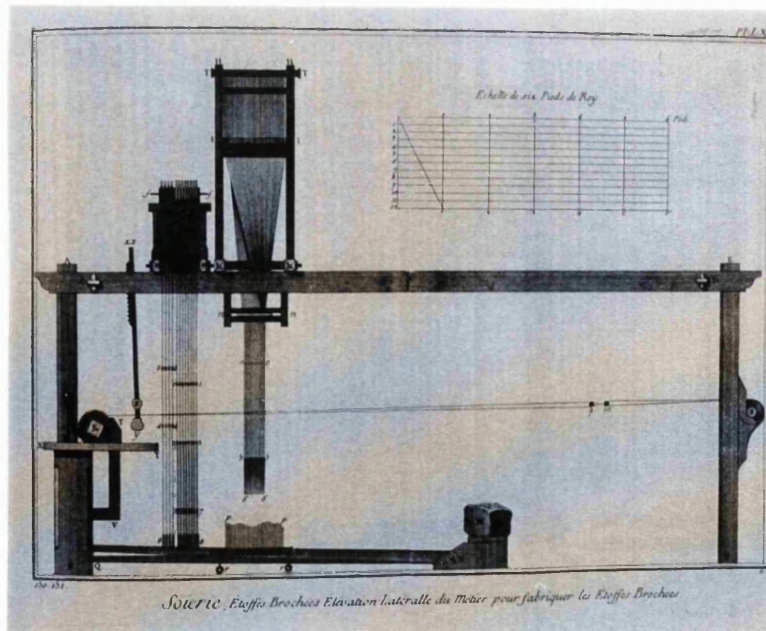


Ill. 2.10 Shaft Loom. *L'Encyclopédie*, c.1762.





III. 2.11 Drawloom for weaving silk brocades. *L'Encyclopédie*, c.1762. That for weaving linen damasks was similar.



III. 2.12 Side view of drawloom. *L'Encyclopédie*, c.1762.  
There are two harnesses, that nearest to the weaver for the satin binding, followed by the pattern harness.





III. 2.13 Tafel 19 from Kumsch (1891), illustrating five German borders from the first half of the eighteenth century.

Original plate at scale of 1:3, this illustration now at approximately 1:5.

### CHAPTER 3 DINING CEREMONY AND THE SETTING OF TABLES

*Quand le prince va disner, et qu'il est couvert, l'huyssier de la salle va querir le panetier qui doit servir pour ce jour, et le meine en la paneterie. Et là le sommelier de la paneterie baille une serviette audit panetier, et la baise, en faisant credence, et le panetier la met sur son espaule senestre, les deux bouts pendant devant et derrière.<sup>1</sup>*

- Olivier de La Marche, 1474

Dining was always more than the simple provision of sustenance, never more so than in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Feasts were used by monarchs, gentlemen and merchants not only to entertain their guests and impress the onlookers but also to reinforce their self-image and status. In addition, the way in which meals were organised and served reflected particular conceptions of civility and hospitality, gentility and conversation. In recent years, a number of scholars have considered these matters including Michel Jeanneret, who in *A Feast of Words* which traces the theme of conviviality through European literature, writes,

*In the Renaissance educated and cultured people, concerned about elegance and civility, establish a vast network of precepts to oversee table manners, lessons on conduct, advice on the menu, rules about service. At the same time, they regulate the conversation of diners and define the tone appropriate to convivial intercourse.<sup>2</sup>*

Other scholars have studied the organisation of princely households and the part that dining played in the political as well as the social and cultural life of the court. Art historians and museum curators responsible for artefacts associated with the table, particularly silver, ceramics and linen, have examined dining ceremony to provide the context in which the objects were used. Apart from a number of monographs and articles, this increasing interest has resulted in several major exhibitions and international conferences. The corpus of work, however, has tended to concentrate upon splendid public occasions: the feasts following events such as coronations and the installations of the Knights of the Garter, as well as the sovereign or the nobility dining-in-state. This concentration has resulted from the nature of the written evidence, which largely consists of instructions relating to public dining in household books, and reports of the great celebrations at court by foreign ambassadors and other observers. In addition, perhaps all historians are not unmoved by the vibrant call of a court trumpet or the sensual charm of a masquer queen. As a result, there is little understanding of private dining whether in royal households or

<sup>1</sup> La Marche (1837)\*, 584.

<sup>2</sup> Jeanneret (1991), 3.

Questions of gentility, civility and conversation are discussed in Vidal (1992) and Solkin (1993).



among the nobility, gentry or merchant elite. This represents a major shortcoming, as both contemporary and modern writers have emphasised the significance of the move towards greater privacy throughout the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.

It is dining ceremony, however, that determines the numbers, sizes and types of tables and cupboards that furnish the dining chamber, together with the supplies of napery and plate. Thus this chapter considers the ownership of furniture, plate and, in particular, table linen to see how it informs the nature of public and private dining, and reflects changes in attitudes and values.

### 3.1 DINING IN TUDOR HOUSEHOLDS

Within the Tudor noble household, three meals were generally provided: breakfast, dinner and supper. The principal meal was dinner which was served in the middle of the day (i.e. in daylight) and was of two courses, each comprised of many dishes. On public and some private occasions, the host and a few principal guests then retired for the banquet, consisting of sweetmeats and spiced wine. This was served in a banqueting house, which though small, could be a lavish architectural conceit (Ill. 3.1).

Large households dined at a number of tables in several locations. For example, Viscount Montague on formal occasions dined with his immediate family in the great chamber at Cowdray, with a second table for his wife's gentlewomen and certain 'principal officers'. His steward and most of the officers and yeomen dined at three or four tables in the hall. The ceremony here was similar to that in the great chamber, but it should be remembered that the steward was a knight and the principal officers were young gentlemen, often from families of some standing. The 'Scullerye man' had 'his dyett in his own office, and the boyes of the kitchen with him'.<sup>3</sup>

The organisation of such households is described in a number of household and courtesy books which also provide many insights into public dining. Mark Girouard has discussed in *Life in the English Country House* some twenty of these books.<sup>4</sup> Taken alone, they would suggest striking continuities in dining ceremony, with the Montague Household book of 1595 and 'A Breviate touching the Order and Governmente of a Nobleman's House' of 1605 having distinct similarities with documents from a hundred years earlier.<sup>5</sup> But do these two sets of instructions represent late examples of a dying tradition, and does their emphasis on formal dining hide from the reader significant changes in the frequency and nature of dining privately?

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<sup>3</sup> Hope (1919), 133.

<sup>4</sup> Girouard (1978), 319-20.

<sup>5</sup> Hope (1919) & Banks (1800)\*.



Montague's book includes detailed instructions to the Yeoman of the Ewery - the department responsible for the napery, and the ewers and basins used in the washing of hands - for the setting of his table,

He shall then laye the table cloth fayre uppon both his armes,  
and goe together with the yeoman usher with due reverence  
to the table of my dyett, makeinge two curtesies thereto, the  
one about the middest of the chamber, the other when he  
cometh to ytt, and there kysinge y<sup>tt</sup> shall lay y<sup>tt</sup> . . .<sup>6</sup>

Several authors have commented upon the arresting affinities between the liturgy of the Holy Office and dining ceremony, especially this bowing or genuflecting to the empty place-setting of the lord, and the kissing of towels and tablecloths, as well as the 'arming' towels which were worn by the sewer and carver as symbols of their offices, in a similar manner to the way the clergy wore their stoles for the mass. David Loades traces 'this development of a liturgy of deference that was later to be widely imitated' to the papal Court, in exile at Avignon during the fourteenth century.<sup>7</sup> Thus the link which lay initially with the Pope, as the Vicar of Christ, passed to the king as God's anointed ruler and then by extension to the nobility.

Apart from the ordering of ceremonial, household instructions defined both the organisational structure of the household and the access to its head. It is probably a different emphasis regarding these strands that gives disparate views of continuity and change within the household of Henry VIII. Simon Thurley focusing upon the household's departmental organisation, sees continuity from Edward IV's 'Black Book' of 1472 through the reigns of Henry VII and his son.<sup>8</sup> In contrast, David Starkey, who considers access to the sovereign as of prime importance in the political and social life of the Court, views the Black Book as an end, and not a beginning.

About 1495, Henry VII reorganised the secret or privy chamber with its own staff of six grooms led by the Groom of the Stool. This brought the English Court into line with both France and Burgundy. In 1518, Henry VIII, also reflecting French practice, created an additional set of higher class officers, the Gentlemen of the privy chamber. Of the significance of these events Starkey writes, 'the innovations of c.1495 had created a Secret Chamber which institutionalized distance; those of 1518 reshaped the privy chamber, into an institutionalization of intimacy'.<sup>9</sup> The import of these changes for understanding the linen holdings in Henry VIII's inventories is twofold. The innovation of c.1495 gave the Groom of the Stool responsibility for the equipment of the privy chamber, apparently

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<sup>6</sup> Hope (1919), 130.

<sup>7</sup> Loades (1992), 10.

<sup>8</sup> Thurley (1993), 145.

<sup>9</sup> Starkey (1987), 82.

including the napery and plate, and that of 1518 ultimately affected the arrangements for dining within the household.

Dining occurred in several locations within Henry's palaces. The Lord Steward's department which cared for the bodily needs of the household, consisted of some nineteen departments, or offices. The staff of many of these ate in the offices where they worked such as the kitchen and the bakehouse, although those that provided service such as the officers of the pantry and the ewery dined elsewhere. The lower servants of the Court ate in the great hall. Its decline in importance, which was noticeable from early in the fifteenth century, continued through Henry's reign although a great hall was built at Hampton Court. However, there was none at Nonsuch where the lower servants ate in the 'dining chamber in the outer court'.<sup>10</sup> Household officials dined in the guard or watching chamber, where the Eltham Ordinances specified the Lord Chamberlain should 'keepe his boord'. Beyond this, was the presence chamber where the King, on occasion, dined in public in considerable splendour, hedged about with elaborate ceremonial. It was also used for the entertainment of ambassadors and otherwise as a dining chamber for the most senior members of the Court. Subsequently, it was taken over by the Gentlemen Pensioners after their institution in Cromwell's reform of 1539. Linked to the presence chamber, typically by gallery and closet, was the privy chamber where the King frequently dined served by his personal staff (Ill. 3.2). Sometimes the King would eat in greater privacy and informality within the secret lodgings, such as at Hunsdon in 1528 in 'a chamber within a towre where his hignes sometyme useth to suppe aparte'.<sup>11</sup>

As the royal ordinances relate to the ordering of dining-in-state, little is known of dining 'privately' in the privy chamber or secret lodgings. Similarly, for the merchants of the City of London, regulations, menus and table plans give a picture of livery dinners in the halls of the elite companies, but little is known of dining practice in their homes. None the less some indications are given by the nature of both their linen holdings and dining furniture.

### 3.2 *NAPERY 'GENERATED' BY TUDOR DINING CEREMONY*

Both damask and diaper napery were usually exported to England from the Low Countries particularly from Kortrijk in Flanders, in the loom piece, about thirty-five yards in length. In great households, three matching pieces of tabling, towelling and napkining were bought and cut into cloths of the required lengths. Before 1600, many damasks were woven with side borders but most diapers were borderless. From such pieces, tablecloths, towels and napkins could be cut to any length. For some of the finest damasks, woven with top and

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<sup>10</sup> Thurley (1993), 119.

<sup>11</sup> Thurley (1993), 138.

bottom as well as side borders, the length of the tablecloth or napkin was defined by the weaver. For such pieces, liaison between the supplier and the customer was required, as the length and width of the tablecloth prescribed the size of the table on which it was to be laid.

a) *Tablecloths*

Diaper tabling was produced in different qualities and several widths, the narrower often being used for secondary tables and cupboards. Likewise, damask tabling was woven in several qualities but largely in three widths:  $2\frac{1}{2}$ , 3 and 4 ells which were referred to in the Kortrijk guild regulations as 10, 12 and 16 quarters of an ell (approximately  $1\frac{7}{8}$ ,  $2\frac{1}{4}$  and 3 yds).<sup>12</sup> In the seventeenth century, tablecloths were sometimes stipulated to fall to within one or two handspans from the floor on either side.<sup>13</sup> During the previous century, pictorial evidence suggests a greater variety, but with the majority falling to within a foot of the floor. With this fall, tablecloths  $2\frac{1}{2}$ , 3 and 4 ells broad would cover tables with widths of some 3ft (0.9m), 4ft (1.2m) and 6ft 4in (1.9m) respectively.<sup>14</sup>

Throughout the sixteenth century, a minority of damask tablecloths were of the narrowest width of  $2\frac{1}{2}$  ells, most cloths being either 3 or 4 ells wide. Early in the century, the majority of cloths in the inventories of the nobility were 4 ells wide, with some two-thirds of the tablecloths of both Cardinal Wolsey and the Duke of Buckingham being of this width (see Table 3.1).<sup>15</sup> As the century progressed there was a swing towards 3 ells-wide cloths, exemplified by only a third of the unused pieces left on Henry VIII's death being 4 ells in width. In 1601, Bess of Hardwick, Countess of Shrewsbury left an even smaller proportion of 4 ells-wide pieces: just two out of fifteen. By the middle of the seventeenth century, 3 ells-wide tabling became standard and  $2\frac{1}{2}$  and 4 ells-wide cloth were rarely used in England.

<sup>12</sup> Occasionally other widths are found. In addition to the tablecloths in Table 3.1, Leicester had four,  $2\frac{3}{4}$  yds wide, which was possibly a generous measurement of  $14/4$  tabling. Included among Henry VIII's 4 ells-wide cloths in Table 3.1 is one of the 'Kinges Armes crowned in a garter' measuring  $3\frac{1}{4}$  yds. This is equivalent to  $17/4$  tabling which, unlike  $14/4$  tabling, is not included among the permitted widths in the Kortrijk guild regulations.

<sup>13</sup> Burgers (1987), 150.

<sup>14</sup> Tables were about 28 in. high; thus the breadths of tables with falls to within 12 in. of the floor are as follows:-

$2\frac{1}{2}$ ells ( $10/4$ ) tabling	width 68 ins less two drops of 16 ins is	36 ins
3 ells ( $12/4$ )	" 81 ins "	49 ins
4 ells ( $16/4$ )	" 108 ins "	76 ins

<sup>15</sup> The surviving examples from c.1530 are all  $16/4$  wide: e.g. Abegg Stiftung 4824; V & A, T277-1913; Dutch Private Coll., Burgers (1986) Ill. 92a; Bernheimer (1996), Lot 453, pattern identical to Abegg Stiftung 4824.

TABLE 3.1 WIDTHS OF DAMASK TABLING USED IN ENGLAND DURING THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

DATE	NAME References in Appendix A	NUMBER OF DAMASK TABLECLOTHS <sup>a</sup>			
		2½ ells	3 ells	4 ells	Total
1516	Cardinal WOLSEY	4	5	15	24
1521	Duke of BUCKINGHAM	3	3	11	17
1541	Lord SANDYS	1	0	3	4
1542	Duchess of NORFOLK	0	0	3	3
1546	Duke of NORFOLK	0	5	7	12
1547	King HENRY VIII	0	15	8	23
1553	Duke of NORTHUMBERLAND	1	5	8	14
1554	Alderman Austen HYNDE	6	3	0	9
1559	Earl of PEMBROKE	0	20	4	24
1583	Earl of LEICESTER	1	9	1	11
1585	Earl of BEDFORD	1	8	4	13
1593	Alice SMYTHE <sup>b</sup>	0	9	2	11
1601	Bess of HARDWICK	2	11	2	15

*Notes:*

- a Tablecloths save for Henry VIII and Bess of Hardwick which are unused tabling loom pieces and remnants.
- b Two tablecloths are given as '3 yds wide' (275 cm = 4 ells) but no widths are given for the other 9. From the descriptions and the valuations, they are assumed to be 3 ells in width.

This striking change in the ownership of 4 ells-wide tablecloths, which implies an increasing use of narrower tables, must have an explanation in dining practice. This may lie with the retreat of the monarch from the presence chamber to the privy chamber and more infrequent dining-in-state. This followed a desire for greater privacy, a feeling that was shared by many among the nobility and gentry.

About 1500, during Henry VII's reign, the instructions for 'the kinges Dyninge abroad in State' made provisions for a cardinal to sit on the right hand of the king and a prince 'at the utter side of the boorde, and agaynst the cardinall'.<sup>16</sup> Thus the King sat in the centre of the long side of the table facing the chamber and on its axis with the cardinal on the same side to his right and the prince opposite the cardinal, with his back to the room. The formal processions bearing the dishes to the table approached the King, along the axis of the chamber. When dining in state, it was important that the onlookers should be able to see the magnificence of the salt and the dishes on the King's table. With diners sitting opposite each other, this would be difficult to achieve without a wide table covered by a 4 ells-wide

<sup>16</sup> BL Sloane 1494, 11v-16v. Contains household regulations of various dates which were copied and additional commentaries added in the seventeenth century. 'The ancient ord<sup>r</sup> of the Kinges Dyninge abroad in State' includes an instruction for 'a groome of the chamb. to have a stoole readye to be set at the right hand of the K'. Presumably this refers to a groom of the Privy chamber, an office introduced in 1495. Later there is a reference to 'a Prince of this Realme' ('as the kinges eldest sonne be pñt [present] that day') which would suggest the original document was written between 1495 and Prince Arthur's death in 1502.

cloth. In contrast when dining alone in the privy chamber of secret lodgings, a narrower table with a 3 ells-wide cloth would be satisfactory. (Significantly, the five tablecloths listed for Cardinal Wolsey's privy chamber were either 2½ or 3 ells wide.<sup>17</sup>) At this period, conversation when dining in state was not given a high priority and indeed, would have been difficult across a table some six feet, or nearly two metres in width. However, at the end of the sixteenth century, there were changing attitudes towards dining, in part the result of changing conceptions of 'civility'.

Felicity Heal in discussing the changing vision of hospitality cites the pursuit of civility as a motor for change, 'the idea that refinement separates those who possess it from the rest, and justifies them in seeking one another's company'. From this follows the view of the author of *Cyvile and Uncyvile Life* that,

the great merit of living in London was that one could choose one's own dinner guests, and have friends at your table, 'men of more civilitie, wisdom and worth, than your rude countrey Gentlemen, or rustical Neighboures'.<sup>18</sup>

Conversation had clearly become paramount to William Cornwallis when he insisted in his *Essay* of 1600, that the only reasons for entertaining guests were 'love or business'.<sup>19</sup> On such occasions, a table, some four feet in width (1.2m) covered with a 3 ells-wide tablecloth provided room for the necessary array of dishes and the setting for intimate conversation. It appears that London merchants had entertained guests for business, if less frequently for love, during the sixteenth century. It is noticeable that none of Alderman Austen Hynde's damask tablecloths were 4 ells wide and that six of them were in fact of the narrow width of 2½ ells. Three of these were clearly for his own table as they had en suite double towels and were expensive with patterns of 'the prodigall son', 'the kynges armes', and 'the grape'. Hynde's tablecloths were six or seven yards long which was typical for the first half of the sixteenth century. Towards the end of the century, there was a trend towards shorter cloths which continued into the seventeenth century.

#### b) Towels

Towelling loom pieces of damask were generally woven ¾ yd or one Kortrijk ell in width.<sup>20</sup> In many cases, towelling and napkining pieces were probably identical, although the more expensive napkining was woven with top and bottom borders. Unfortunately, surviving examples of towels are very rare, as with more informal dining ceremony and the increasing use of forks during the second half of the seventeenth century, the formal washing of hands at table became uncommon, and by 1700 towels had dropped out of use.

<sup>17</sup> 1516 WOLSEY, 77.

<sup>18</sup> Heal (1990), 103-6, including quote from Hazlitt (1868), 80.

<sup>19</sup> Cornwallis (1600)\*, see Heal (1990), 101.

<sup>20</sup> There are rare references to wider towels such as 1593 SMYTHE, 'one Longe broade towell', en suite with a 4 ells-wide tablecloth.

However, a handful survive from the mid-seventeenth century in Holland and Scandinavia which have top and bottom as well as side borders.<sup>21</sup> In England, there is a sixteenth century 'tablecloth' in the Victoria & Albert Museum which has been made by sewing two pieces of borderless towelling or napkinning, selvedge to selvedge (Ills 2.7 & 8.5). It bears the English royal arms and devices, together with the initial E, probably for Edward VI. The positions of the embroidered ownership marks confirm that the cloth was originally a long towel, rather than a remnant of napkinning.<sup>22</sup> Despite the lack of physical evidence from the sixteenth century for towels with all four borders, it is likely that they were made. Hand towels also called 'washing', 'short' and 'ewery' towels, typically six to nine feet long, made of damask and diaper are commonly found in the inventories of the wealthy throughout the sixteenth century. At Court, they were used in the formal washing of hands before the king was seated at table: a ceremony of some complexity, particularly when dining in state. About 1500, a gentleman usher, followed by an earl and accompanied by four sergeants-at-arms processed to the ewery. The sergeant of the ewery kissed a hand towel and put it over the left shoulder of the gentleman usher. After the sergeant had tasted the water, he gave a covered basin and the cup of assay for the water to the earl. The procession then returned to the presence chamber with the sergeants-at-arms 'to kepe that no person shall approach nor come near the King's Service'. When the king was ready to wash, the gentleman usher gave the towel to the prince or the nobleman of greatest estate. The nobleman of the 'second estate' gave assay of the water and held the cover of the basin under the king's hands, whilst the water, either hot or cold depending upon the season, was poured over them. The prince offered the king the towel to dry his hands and then returned it to the gentleman usher, who made 'obeysance' to the King. He placed the folded part of the towel upon his shoulder but that part of the towel 'in which the Kinge hath wyped he shall bear in his hands above his head and in the same maner as they came from the Ewrie so must they venture thither'.<sup>23</sup>

Early in the sixteenth century, at the end of the meal 'a large towayle applied double' was 'cowched uppon the principall ende of the tabill'.<sup>24</sup> The long towel was then drawn across the table and a gentleman usher inserted his rod of office between the two layers and 'made a fould or a warpe in the Towell from the Kinge ward on the right hand (w<sup>ch</sup> is called a state)'.<sup>25</sup> He then formed another estate on the king's left and a basin was placed between the two folds. Water was poured from a ewer over the king's hands which he dried on the folds of the towel.

21 AB Stockholms Auktionswerk, Kvalitetsauktion No. 92, 18-21 April 1989, Lot 766. Burgers (1987) Ill. 136.

22 V & A, 1162-1893, the cloth is 7ft 4½ in. (2.25m) long by 4 ft 8 in. (1.42m) wide which would produce a towel 14 ft 9 in. (4.5m) long by 2 ft 4 in. (71 cm or one Flemish ell) wide.

23 BL Sloane 1494, 11v.

24 Sneyd (1847)\*, 101.

25 Chambers (1914)\*, 13.

Of the long towels within Henry VIII's inventories which appear to have come from the Duke of Buckingham's attainder in 1521, a half were of a similar length to the tablecloths whilst the other half were twice the length, ranging from twelve to twenty yards. Cardinal Wolsey's inventory was similar with approximately equal numbers of 'sengle' and 'duble' towels. In 1525, the napery issued to Henry Fitzroy from the Great Wardrobe included 'Two Double towailes of Diaper of xvij yds longe apece for my lordes owne table'.<sup>26</sup> Henry VIII's inventory of 1547 has a number of uncut towelling pieces but few towels. There are two single long towels from the Suffolk purchase which were probably received in the settlement with the Duke after the death of his wife, Mary Tudor, in 1533.<sup>27</sup> The towels got in 1546 on the Duke of Norfolk's attainder were also single. From the middle of the century, other noble inventories have a number of single, but few double long towels: Northumberland in 1553 had one double and seven single long damask towels and Pembroke in 1561, just one double but ten single. Pembroke's double towel was old, for the inventory entry has been annotated as 'one thynne cupbourde clothe' and again later, as 'olde napkins'. These notes graphically show the fate of such towels when no longer used.

It is unclear whether the folds, or estates, were still formed when single long towels were laid on the table to receive the basin. After double towels had disappeared from English inventories, the household books of Viscount Montague (1595) and the Earl of Huntingdon (1609) give detailed instructions for laying the long towel but no indication as to how the lord's hands were dried.<sup>28</sup> Possibly a short towel was used, or even a napkin which became the practice in the second half of the seventeenth century.<sup>29</sup> Even in the first half of the sixteenth century, it seems possible that when dining in the privy chamber neither double nor single long towels were used. The King may have washed in a similar manner at the end of the meal as at the beginning, although presumably without the procession to and from the Ewery. The laundry contract of 1542 with Anne Harris, 'for washing and cleane keeping of the napery which shall serve for the King's owne table', did not include any long towels but only eight hand towels per week.<sup>30</sup>

Royal and noble inventories also included arming towels. Henry VIII's 1547 inventory had three 'sewere towels' of damask amongst Buckingham's goods and seven 'necke-towels' from Richmond Palace, described as 'wrought', or embroidered, and two of them

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<sup>26</sup> PRO, E101/417/3, 91.

<sup>27</sup> Gunn (1988), 113-139.

<sup>28</sup> Hope (1919), 125.

Nichols (1804)\*, 594-8.

<sup>29</sup> Perhaps James I used a napkin; Sir Anthony Weldon stated, 'He never washed his hands, only rubbed his fingers' ends slightly with the wet end of a napkin', quoted in Walter (1975), 41.

<sup>30</sup> Nichols (1790)\*, 215.

of 'netle clothe'.<sup>31</sup> Buckingham's damask arming towels were about three yards long and either 4½ or 6¼ in wide. Wolsey's were of fine holland of a similar length but of the breadth of the cloth. Such arming towels were worn by the carver, sewer and cupbearer for more than two centuries. In *The Marriage at Cana* by Bosch, the sewer is armed in a similar manner to that described in 'A Breviate' of 1605 (Ill. 3.3).<sup>32</sup>

Hee is to arme the sewer with a towell, of the like foulde  
(full three fynghers broode or more) to the carver, and is to  
putt it baudericke wise, about his necke, with a knotte  
thereof, so lower as his knee, and both endes of the towell to  
hannge lower at the left by a foote then the knotte.<sup>33</sup>

Instead of wearing the towel diagonally across his body as the sewer, in the manner of a deacon, the carver's was 'cast about his necke, and put under his girdle on both sides', like a priest.<sup>34</sup>

Presumably, it was because of these allusions to the Mass, that only the servants of royalty and of lords temporal and spiritual were armed in this way. Thus the Duke of Norfolk, Bishop West and Lord Sandys had arming towels in their inventories, but they were absent from the extensive holdings of napery of other royal servants who were commoners, such as Sir Richard Weston and Sir Christopher More.<sup>35</sup> Within the royal household their use was strictly controlled for princes and noblemen could only arm their servants in their own chambers,

And the king's Kerver [carver] and y<sup>e</sup> sewere, and the  
Quene's kerver and sewere shall bere the towelles, and els  
none in the King's presens.<sup>36</sup>

### c) *Coverpanes*

A feature of Tudor inventories with extensive holdings of napery is the inclusion of the most splendid coverpanes. These were used to cover the principal place setting of salt, trencher, spoon and bread (*pain*), and were removed 'the meale beinge placede on the table, and the lorde sett'.<sup>37</sup> The finest were embroidered and edged with gold lace or fringed with silk upon grounds of linen damask, diaper or holland. Sir John Fastolfe, a celebrated Captain in the French wars, later to be much maligned by Shakespeare as 'that huge bombard of sack' had amongst his napery at Caister Castle on his death in 1459 an 'overpayn of Raynes'. Probably from much the same date is a 'coverpayne of Reynes

31 Fine cloth can be made from the common stinging-nettle by treating the stems in a similar way to flax; see Baines (1989), 184. There are some 173 ells of unused nettlecloth in 1547, HENRY VIII.

32 Also see Ill. 3.9.

33 Banks (1800)\*, 331.

34 Hope (1919), 126.

35 1546 NORFOLK, 1534 WEST, 1541 SANDYS. In 1533 Sir Henry Guildford despite being only a knight had two neck towels. He was Constable of Leeds Castle for the King and possibly kept the towels for royal visits.

36 Grose (1807)\*, 299.

37 Banks (1800)\*, 333. For a more detailed treatment of coverpanes, see Mitchell (1998B).



wrought with golde and silke' surviving in Henry VIII's inventory of 1547. Towards the end of the fifteenth century, there are a number of diaper coverpanes belonging to gentlemen and merchants within the sample.<sup>38</sup>

In the Old Jewel House at Westminster in 1547, Henry VIII had twenty-one coverpanes mostly got by attainder from Edward Stafford, Duke of Buckingham and the old Duchess of Norfolk. One of these carries the Stafford arms 'a cheverne chequered' and a second exhibits the Duke's device of the double cross.

One coverpane of like holland frenged rounde aboute with a narrowe frenge of venice golde and blewe silke and wrought on bothe sydes within with double crosses of venice goulde and silke nedleworke having crosse the endes twoo lardge workes of like golde and silke nedleworke being in lengthe one yarde quarter and three nayles and in bredthe one yarde.<sup>39</sup>

Most of these coverpanes were between three and four feet long (0.9 to 1.2m), varying in width between two and three feet (60 to 90 cm). The larger examples were probably required to cover tall standing salts, such as the Royal Clock Salt belonging to the King, made in Paris about 1535.

Two of these royal coverpanes were of damask, one with the story of Adam and Eve, and the other of the *Annunciation*, 'the salutacion of our ladie'. There were five napkins of the latter design also listed among the napery in the Old Jewel House. Both the coverpane and these napkins had been listed previously in the inventory of 1542, when there were ten napkins described as 'being cutt and sundry wholes in them'.<sup>40</sup> The author has argued elsewhere that this coverpane was made from a napkin when first purchased by the Duke of Buckingham between about 1515 and his death in 1521, and further that it may be identified with a piece presently in the Victoria and Albert Museum (Ill. 9.24).<sup>41</sup>

During the middle years of the sixteenth century, a number of noblemen owned coverpanes of linen damask including the Duke of Norfolk, Lord Sandys, and the Earl of Pembroke. But, in contrast to arming towels, the ownership of coverpanes did not reflect nobility of birth but simply worldly success, for the London merchant elite had linen coffers to rival many peers which included fine coverpanes; for example, Austen Hynde who had he lived till Michaelmas in 1554, 'shud had byne the nuw Mayre of thys noble cete of London', left

38 1487 HOLGRAVE, 1488 MORTON and 1494 SYMSON.

39 Starkey (1998), Nos 11546-7.

Stafford badges are illustrated in Fox-Davies (1904), Fig. 8.2 and the Stafford arms 'or, a chevron gules', in *Heralds* (1936), Plate L.

40 1542 HENRY VIII, 51.

41 Mitchell (1999).

four coverpanes decorated with a rebus, 'of Damaske worke with hyndes edged w<sup>t</sup> bone lace of golde'.<sup>42</sup>

Later in the century, Alderman Henry Milles had eight 'coverpaynes of damaske with perelles [pearls]' whilst Sir Thomas Offley had five 'edged with gold and silver tassled'. Sir Thomas Ramsey, who like Offley had served as Lord Mayor, had twelve coverpanes of 'damaske with knobs'.<sup>43</sup> The numbers of ensuite coverpanes owned by these merchants were in striking contrast to the nobility who rarely had more than two or three matching coverpanes. This suggests that the merchants covered all the place settings with coverpanes, unlike the nobility who emphasised differences in status by covering only those of the one or two principal diners.

At the end of the sixteenth century coverpanes began to fall out of use. Significantly, the Montague household book of 1595 does not mention coverpanes but instructs that after 'the yeoman of my pantrye hath placed the saltes, and layde myne, and my wifes trenchers, manchettes [bread rolls], knyves and spoones', the yeoman of the ewery should 'coverre them with napkins'.<sup>44</sup>

#### d) *Napkins*

Inventories from the early fifteenth century often included just tablecloths and towels, but by 1450 napkins were regularly listed.<sup>45</sup> These could be owned in considerable numbers: for example, the London draper, Thomas Gylbert had eight dozen diaper napkins, in addition to five diaper tablecloths, four long and one short diaper towel.<sup>46</sup> It is likely that the napkins were placed either upon the arm or the shoulder, rather than in the lap, a practice commended by Erasmus in his *De civilitate morum puerilium* [On civility in boys] of 1530,

If a serviette is given, lay it on your left shoulder or arm . . .  
If you are offered something liquid taste it and return the  
spoon, but first wipe it on your serviette. To lick greasy  
fingers or to wipe them on your coat is impolite. It is better  
to use the tablecloth or the serviette.<sup>47</sup>

When dining privately the king and the nobility may have 'worn' their napkins in this way, although this was not the practice when dining publicly. At the English Court in the early

42 Machyn (1846)\*, 67. 1554 HYNDE. Other London merchants with fine coverpanes include 1533 PLYMLEY, 1536 STODLEY, 1554 WARREN.

43 1574 MILLES, 1582 OFFLEY, 1590 RAMSEY.

44 Hope (1919), 130. 'A Breviate ... of 1605' still calls for 'a fynne square clouth of cambricke, called a coverpaine', Banks (1800)\*, 333, but none were included in the comprehensive parcel of napery transferred to Cranborne from Hatfield, by the Earl of Salisbury in 1609, Hatfield House, Box B/97.

45 In 1415, two Londoners Le Scrope and Gurmyn have just tablecloths and towels, *Archaeologia*, 70 (1920). Sometimes a towel was draped across several laps as in Dieric Bouts' *Last Supper*, painted 1465-8, see Baudouin (1957), 44-55, and Comblen-Sonkes (1996).

46 1484 GYLBERT.

47 Quoted in Elias (1978), 89.

sixteenth century, after the king had washed and grace had been said, he was formally seated at table with the cloth lifted by servants at either end and placed in his lap.<sup>48</sup> During dinner, a napkin was only given to the king when requested and returned after use, in the same way that his cup was filled and brought from the cupboard and returned there after he had drunk. The gentleman servant who waited on him had two napkins, one upon his arm for the king and another for his own use upon his shoulder.<sup>49</sup>

The wearing of a napkin over the shoulder could directly affect its design. In 1528, a commission of damask table linen for the Order of the Golden Fleece was placed on behalf of the Emperor Charles V. It was to consist of three tablecloths and three dozen *serviettes*. The designs were specified in considerable detail. The *serviettes* were to be 2 ells (1.4 m) long and 4½ quarters of an ell (78 cm) broad, with the Imperial arms encircled by the *Toison d'Or* woven at each end, but countercharged so that they appeared the right way up when worn over the shoulder, '*qui sont l'une contre l'autre afin que quand lon serviroit à table les armes fussent toujours droites devant et derrière*'.<sup>50</sup>

In the quotation at the beginning of this chapter, Olivier de La Marche, Maitre d'Hotel to Charles the Bold, reigning Duke of Burgundy from 1467 to 1477, gives similar instructions for placing the *serviette* over the left shoulder. Subsequently after setting the Duke's place, the *panetier* was told to '*puis met sa serviette pendre à la nef*'. La Marche then describes the arrangements for washing hands and drying them on a *serviette*. These instructions highlight differences with England for it is clear that the *serviette* in Burgundy was multi-purposed, serving as napkin, coverpane and short towel (Ill. 3.4).<sup>51</sup>

Napkins continued to be worn by men either on the shoulder or arm throughout the sixteenth century in England as illustrated in the memorial portrait of Sir Henry Unton in the National Portrait Gallery, painted about 1596 (Ill. 3.5). By this time, however, there were gender differences for the ladies have them folded across their laps.

Napkins were made from damask, diaper and plain cloth. Generally they were 4 quarters or 1 Flemish ell in width, but are found in 3 quarters and very occasionally 4½ quarters of an ell, the width specified in the commission for the Order of the Golden Fleece. These multi-purposed *serviettes* were 2 ells long (1.4 m), much longer than English napkins which were generally about 1½ ells (1.05 m). Even the very fine napkins woven with the Tudor arms which correspond to the entry in Henry VII's inventory of 1547, 'with the King his graces Armes crowned, with a garter', are only a little longer (1.15 m) (see Ill. 9.16).<sup>52</sup>

48 BL Sloane 1494, 1519 Garter Feast, 63.

49 BL Sloane 1494, 'Dyning abroad in State', c.1500, 11v.

50 Quoted in Calberg (1933), 12.

51 La Marche (1837)\*, 585.

52 E315/160, 94v.

It appears from the inventory record that few banquet napkins were woven, although in 1561, Mary, Queen of Scots owned 'six serviettis for banquettis'.<sup>53</sup> Nevertheless, there are a few surviving examples such as those with a stock pattern of Queen Elizabeth that probably belonged to Sir Thomas Gresham (similar to Ill. 9.20)<sup>54</sup> They are much bigger than ordinary napkins being 1½ ells broad (1.05 m) by 2 ells long (1.40 m). This was the size of the twenty-eight banquet napkins in the parcel of damask which also included eighteen dozen ordinary napkins, given by the States General in 1606 to Henry, Prince of Wales.<sup>55</sup> Examples of both types of napkins survive as well as similar napkins given to Henri IV (Ills 3.6 & 3.7).

Apart from the large temporary structures erected for major state occasions, banqueting houses were of modest size with limited room for both servants and cupboards, and were sometimes equipped with fixed furniture (Ill. 3.8). In contrast to practice in the dining chamber, perhaps the large banquet napkins were placed in the lap as protection against the sticky delights of 'banquetting stuffe': preserved fruits, march-panes, and wet suckets. The banquet which provided an opportunity for conversation singularly lacking during the first two courses of dining-in-state was also an occasion to use the finest and most fashionable plate, glass, majolica, and hardstone vessels and dishes. Much of this was to hand on the table, in contrast to the dining chamber where apart from the salt, the most magnificent plate was displayed on the cupboard. In such circumstances, it was appropriate that special napkins of the finest damask were woven.

#### e) *Cupboard cloths*

In England, throughout the Tudor period and beyond, cups and later drinking glasses, were not placed upon the dining table but on a separate 'bord' or cupboard. When drink was required the cupbearer or another servant fetched it from the cupboard. After the diner was satisfied, the cup was returned to the servant who rinsed it and replaced it on the cupboard. William Harrison in *The Description of England* traced this custom to the Ancient Greeks and explained that,

By this device . . . much idle tippling is furthermore cut off, for if the full pots should continually stand at the elbow or near the trencher, divers would always be dealing with them, whereas now they drink seldom, and only when necessity urgeth, and so avoid the note of great drinking . . .

<sup>53</sup> *Collection of Inventories* (1815)\*, 150.

<sup>54</sup> Mitchell (1997A), 55.

<sup>55</sup> Burgers (1965).

Interestingly, he then adds that this procedure is neither used at the lesser tables in great houses nor ‘in any man’s home commonly under the degree of a knight or esquire of great revenues’.<sup>56</sup>

Inventories list a great number of cupboards among the furniture of halls, great chambers and dining parlours. They are of considerable variety, ranging from simple tables to cupboards in the modern sense of the word. Although their dimensions are rarely given, they clearly varied in size and splendour. During meals, these cupboards were covered with linen cloths. The napery holdings of the nobility, wealthy gentry and leading merchants included cupboard cloths of damask and diaper, as well as of plain linen, which was sometimes decorated with embroidery and edged with lace or silk fringes. Dimensions of these cloths are given rarely, making it difficult to link the cloths to particular cupboards, in order to track changes in practice. Despite this, with the help of pictorial sources, an outline can be drawn of the trends in the design and use of cupboards.

A feature of fifteenth century miniatures showing great noblemen such as the Duc de Berry at table is a cupboard with two or three tiers covered by a diaper cloth, on which are displayed magnificent silver gilt vessels (Ill. 3.9). The first tier, the working area of the cupboard, is noticeably wider than the tiers behind, which carry single lines of plate. Because of the cloth, the construction of the cupboard cannot be seen. Perhaps in such cases the rear tiers were separate and simply placed upon a livery cupboard or table as illustrated, at a later date, in *Li Tre Trattati* published in 1639 (Ill. 3.10).

On great occasions, several cupboards of plate were provided, some of which were purely for display. Cardinal Wolsey’s Gentleman Usher, George Cavendish recorded that at the entertainment of the French Ambassadors at Hampton Court,

There was a cupboard made for the time, in length of the breadth of the nether end of the same chamber of six desks high, full of gilt plate, very sumptuous and of the most newest fashions . . . This cupboard was barred in round about that no man might come nigh it; for there was none of the same plate occupied or stirred during this feast, for there was sufficient besides.<sup>57</sup>

This cupboard was purpose-built for the event but similar cupboards were a permanent feature in some chambers. In the painting by Bosch of *The Marriage at Cana*, there is a panelled four-tiered cupboard and in the Residenz at Munich a five-tiered example survives (Ills 3.3 & 3.11). In the ‘great dining chamber’ at the Vyne, Lord Sandys had ‘a cubbord

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<sup>56</sup> Harrison (1587)\*, 127-8.

<sup>57</sup> Sylvester & Harding (1962)\*, 72. There is a watercolour of another splendid cupboard which was built for a feast given for Phillip II of Spain, at the Castle of Binche, in 1549 - see Boogert & Kerkhoff (1993), No. 214.

of boardes with a deyse' [dais]. He also owned two damask cupboard cloths, that 'of small flowers' being four yards long by two yards wide.<sup>58</sup> This would cover a cupboard similar to that in the Bosch painting, some six feet wide and with four tiers.<sup>59</sup>

The cupboard in Wolsey's privy chamber was apparently smaller, for his four diaper cupboard cloths of 'crosse diamonds' were four feet eight inches wide and nine feet long.<sup>60</sup> The royal household issued Henry Fitzroy with six diaper cupboard cloths 'for the Chamber' in 1525 which were of the same length.<sup>61</sup> Depending upon the height of the cupboard and the pattern of its steps, these cloths would cover three or four tiers. Multi-tiered cupboards were not confined to the nobility, for in 1533 Robert Amadas, the royal goldsmith and Alexander Plymley, a leading merchant adventurer both had cupboard cloths of five or more yards in length.<sup>62</sup> From the middle of the century, although a few cupboard cloths of more than three yards in length are found, the majority are two or two-and-a-half yards. These may have been used with cupboards of the type shown on the right in the drawing of Henry VIII dining in his privy chamber (Ill. 3.2). Although the date of this drawing has been a matter of some debate, Simon Thurley has suggested that 'the scene shown may be representative of the King's dining habits in the 1540s'.<sup>63</sup> The high cupboard of just two tiers is surmounted by an elaborate architectural canopy and is covered by a cloth which appears to be about two yards long.

In Germany early in the sixteenth century, it seems that a serving table near the dining table was used as well as cupboards against the walls (Ill. 3.12). This was the practice in England at the end of the century and there are a few indications that it occurred earlier. For example, at Leeds Castle in 1532, the furniture in Sir Henry Guildford's parlour included,

ij syngle cobardes of waynscot joyned  
j grete table of waynescot cont. iiij yerdes long good  
a square table with a foote of waynscot Joyned  
a grete rounde table of walnot tree joyned with a large foote  
of the same carved with antique workes good with a chest in it.

It is likely that Sir Henry used this parlour for formal dining and the 'Dynyng Chamber' for more private occasions. The twelve-foot rectangular table in the parlour was described as 'grete', or wide. Among the napery were three damask and five diaper tablecloths, all

58 1541 SANDYS.

59 If used simply for display, handsome cupboards would not necessarily be covered with a cloth. This is presumably the case in the Bosch painting. However, if these were to be used for dispensing wine, a cloth would have had to be used. The three damask cupboard cloths in Henry VIII's inventory of 1547, which had probably belonged to the Duke of Buckingham, were also some four yards long by two yards wide.

60 1516 WOLSEY, 77.

61 E101/417/3, 91.

62 1533 AMADAS, 1533 PLYMLEY.

63 Thurley (1993), 138.

about sixteen feet long which would have fitted this table. They were described as 'olde' and were possibly 4 ells wide. In addition there were towels and cupboard cloths of 'diamondes workes', en suite with the diaper tablecloths. Plain round tablecloths were provided for the 'great rounde bourde' but specific cloths for the square table cannot be identified.<sup>64</sup> In 1566, Sir Richard Worsley's 'Grete Parlor' at Appuldurcombe, Isle of Wight, contained a wainscot table, a sideboard and 'a square table with a cupborde in it'.<sup>65</sup> In contrast, the hall where Worsley's servants dined was equipped simply with two tables which were covered with canvas tablecloths. The absence of a cupboard supports Harrison's observations that they were not used to serve drinks in 'noblemen's halls'.<sup>66</sup>

In 1589, Mr Suckling's great parlour at his 'mansion howse' in Norwich was furnished with a drawleaf table, another table with leaves, a livery table and a livery cupboard. Among his napery was a set of damask for this ensemble,

a long damask table clothe of six yards  
a table cloth for a syde table of three yards  
a towell of the same and a cubbord cloth.

The table with leaves appears to have been used for carving, as green carpets were listed both for the 'carving bord' and the 'lyverye table'.<sup>67</sup> A year later, Sir Thomas Ramsey's inventory of his house in London included two square carving board tables and a number of diaper and plain carving board cloths.<sup>68</sup> At this period, a few inventories list sets of damask which include tablecloths for a long and a square table, a cupboard cloth, a long towel and accompanying napkins.<sup>69</sup>

### 3.3 *DINING IN STUART HOUSEHOLDS*

The choice of periodisation between Tudor and Stuart is largely a matter of convenience rather than an acknowledgement of a significant discontinuity. The late sixteenth and early seventeenth century was a period of gradual change in the attitudes of the nobility and gentry towards hospitality which led to an evolution in dining practice. The siren delights of London were seen as a cause of the decay of keeping open house in the country, which

64 In London, Guildford's lower parlour had 'ij lowe square cubordes of waynescot joyned with almery in bothe', 1532 GUILDFORD. Similarly, Vincent Mundy, Esq in 1545 at Markeaton Hall, Derbyshire had 'a playne square cupborde with ij tylls [drawers] of waynscote 'in the gret chamber wher we dyne', 1545 MUNDY.

65 1566 WORSLEY. Similarly, in 1575, Sir Henry SHARRINGTON'S 'Dyninge Chamber' at Lacock was equipped with a long table, a square table and a wainscot cupboard. In 1588, William GLASEOR'S 'parler' at Chester had a drawleaf table, a cupboard and a little side table.

66 Harrison (1587)\*, 128.

67 1589 SUCKLING.

68 1594 FAIRFAX, Great Chamber contained a square table together with a 'drawinge table of walnutte cutt and carved', and two 'Cupbourdes cutt and carved'.

69 1590 BRICKWELL, 1593 SMYTHE.

resulted in a series of Government proclamations between 1590 and 1630. These 'forbade the gentry to live in or about the city, outside the law terms, and specifically required them to return to their country houses for the Christmas period'.<sup>70</sup> James I was particularly concerned at the dangers inherent in the decay of hospitality and the neglect of 'the mutuall comfort between the Nobles and Gentlemen and the inferiour sort of Commons'.<sup>71</sup> Some great families continued to entertain in the traditional way but many lived less formal lives than their ancestors and dined increasingly with their friends. The drift from formality was reflected in the move from dining in the great chamber to the parlour, often situated on the ground floor near the kitchen.

During the first half of the seventeenth century, there was a marked reduction in the size of noble and gentry households and a change in the status of servants, with fewer sons of gentle birth undertaking a period of service in a great house. These developments were affirmed architecturally in the 1650s by the development of the backstairs and the creation of the servants hall in the basement. One of the main exponents of these features was Sir Roger Pratt who argued for the separation between upstairs and downstairs, 'in that no dirty servants may be seen passing to and fro by those who are above, nor ill scents smelt'.<sup>72</sup>

A comparison between the household books of Viscount Montague at Cowdray of 1595 and of the Earl of Bridgwater at Ashridge of 1652 highlights some of these changes. At Ashridge there were still three venues for meals but they were no longer the great chamber, the hall and the sculleryman's office specified at Cowdray in 1595 but the dining room, parlour and hall. The Ashridge regulations were much simpler and listed just nine officers as opposed to the thirty-six at Cowdray. There was still a gentleman usher, yeoman usher and usher of the hall but the yeoman of the buttery had become the butler. The posts of sewer, carver, yeoman of the pantry and yeoman of the ewery had all disappeared.<sup>73</sup>

The shifts in attitudes towards hospitality, dining ceremony and household structure were reflected in the furnishing of dining rooms. In the early seventeenth century these were still equipped with massive oak court cupboards and draw tables, with chairs for the principal diners and forms or stools for the remainder. In the second half of the century, the cupboards had been largely replaced by sideboards which were either built-in or freestanding, sometimes with marble tops and normally of about table height. Draw tables were replaced by either round or oval dining tables, with back stools or chairs provided for all the diners.<sup>74</sup>

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70 Heal (1990), 117 & 119.

71 Royal Proclamation quoted in Heal (1990), 119.

72 Quoted in Heal (1990), 162. The development of the backstairs, and the changing status of servants are discussed by Girouard (1978), 120-143.

73 Hope (1919) & Todd (1823)\*.

74 For development of cupboards, tables and chairs in the seventeenth century refer to Thornton (1978).



Ham House exemplified many of these changes. The Inventory of 1654 suggests that formal dining took place in the 'great dining roome' on the first floor. The room was T-shaped with the central axis of both the house and the surrounding grounds running across the crossing of the 'T'. Peter Thornton and Maurice Tomlin suggested that the

high table stood at that end of the room, stationed athwart the axis for that when the owner was seated there ceremonially, his position at the centre of the estate was made manifest - a conceit typical of Baroque planning.<sup>75</sup>

The principal diners would have sat behind this table with their backs to the wall, facing the stairs and the processions of servants bearing the food. Apart from the main table there were two 'side board tables' which Thornton and Tomlin have identified with those still in the house with marble tops supported by sensuous caryatids (Ill. 3.13). In an adjoining closet was 'a canopie of damesk', probably a cloth of estate which may have been suspended over the table when the Countess dined in state. Despite this symbol of precedence the eighteen chairs were of one design, 'of cloth of tushio with gold and silver fringe'. For more intimate dining there was a parlour on the ground floor furnished with a round table, two sideboards, a round folding table and eighteen chairs, probably of the so-called 'farthingale' type.

After her first husband's death, the Countess of Dysart married the Duke of Lauderdale in 1672 and a major remodelling of Ham House followed which is reflected in the household inventories of 1677, 1679 and 1683. These works included the creation of two sets of equal apartments for the Duke and Duchess on either side of a new domestic dining room on the ground floor. The 'Marble Dineing Roome' remains largely unaltered with much of its original furniture (Ill. 3.14). In 1677, this included 'two ovall cedar tables', 'two sideboards of cedar', 'one little square table of cedar', fourteen 'kane chares', and 'one marble sisterne'. The oval gate-leg tables could have been placed against the wall or in a passage when not in use. The sideboard tables have white marble slabs and may not have been covered when dining as there are only two 'fine Damuske side board cloathes' in the linen inventory of 1679. In addition to this room, the great dining room upstairs was retained until about 1690, although it seems the cloth of estate was replaced by a double portrait of the Duke and Duchess.<sup>76</sup>

Similar fashions in furniture are found among both the gentry and the London merchant elite. In the first half of the seventeenth century their dining parlours were furnished with draw tables and cupboards, with in some cases an additional small table, probably used as a carving board. A number of chairs, typically of Russian leather or velvet were provided

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<sup>75</sup> Thornton & Tomlin (1980), 22.

<sup>76</sup> Thornton & Tomlin (1980), 42-47, 175, 120.

together with joint stools.<sup>77</sup> Among many examples, two may suffice. Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper's 'dyninge chamber' at his house near Wimborne, Dorset was furnished with 'one large drawinge table, two courte cubbords, one square table, two great chayers and eleven Backe chayers of needlework'. The parlour was similarly equipped for dining and 'the Hawle', where his servants dined, had two long tables, seven forms and a square table.<sup>78</sup> The overseas merchant, Alderman Anthony Abdy on his death in 1640 had a house in Lime Street in the City and a 'Mansion House att Laytonstone' in Essex. The latter had both a great and little parlour equipped for dining, each with a long and a short folding table, a court cupboard and a number of chairs and stools. There was also a 'serveing mens dyning room'. The London house had three similar rooms that could be used for dining.<sup>79</sup>

In the middle of the century round tables began to supplant draw tables and, in their turn, were superseded by oval tables, commonly found in London inventories from 1670.<sup>80</sup> At the same time 'Spanish tables' often in pairs had a brief vogue apparently being used as sideboards.<sup>81</sup> After 1685, Spanish tables were rarely found and chairs covered with turkey work gave way in popularity to cane chairs.

On 6 January 1663, Samuel Pepys bought a new dining table which was possibly oval, in Wood Street. He was pleased with his purchase for a few days later he wrote, 'I find my new table very proper and will hold nine or ten people well, but eight with great room'. With growing professional success, he gave an elegant dinner at home in 1669 for several noblemen and gentlemen connected with the Navy office. Instead of the traditional two multi-dished courses followed by the dessert, Pepys adopted the new fashion of many courses, based upon a single dish.

And after greeting them and some time spent in talk, dinner was brought up, one dish after another, but a dish at a time . . . and indeed it was, of a dinner of six or eight dishes, as noble as any man need to have, I think; at least, all was done in the noblest manner that ever I had any, and I have rarely seen in my life better anywhere else even at Court.<sup>82</sup>

It is possible that this fashion was used when the King dined privately.<sup>83</sup> Nevertheless, all the Stuart monarchs occasionally dined in state and such a dinner with Charles I of about

<sup>77</sup> 1623 MANNE, 1630 WILLIS, 1637 WILLIAMS, 1639 WARD.

<sup>78</sup> 1639 COOPER.

<sup>79</sup> 1640 ABDY.

<sup>80</sup> Round tables in 1643 MASSAM, 1645 NICHOLAS, 1647 HOLLAND, 1666 CARTER. Oval tables in most inventories between 1670 and 1700.

<sup>81</sup> Spanish tables in 1670 EATON, 1670 HODILOU, 1672 BRUCE, 1676 LAMBERT, 1685 CHAPMAN.

<sup>82</sup> Latham & Matthews (1974)\*, 4/14; 9/423.

<sup>83</sup> But probably with extra *hors d'oeuvres* or *entremets* served alongside the main dishes - the beginning of the *service à la Française*.

1635 is recorded in a painting by Houckgeest (Ill. 3.15). In 1667, Pepys attended a 'dining publique' of Charles II,

So to White Hall, and saw the King and Queen at dinner, and observed (which I never did before) the formality; but it is formality, of putting a bit of bread wiped upon each dish into the mouth of every man that brings a dish; but it should be in the sauce.<sup>84</sup>

This vestige of the taking of an assay suggests that the traditional form of dining pertained on such occasions as well as at coronations and Garter feasts. The feast in St George's Hall at Windsor Castle which followed the installation of the Garter Knights in 1671 was described by Ashmole and illustrated with a magnificent engraving by Wenceslaus Hollar (Ill. 3.16).<sup>85</sup> The Knights can be seen sitting in pairs at small tables against the left-hand wall, lined with tapestries. Across the hall, beneath the windows are the cupboards, to serve each table, attended by an officer with a napkin over his left arm. Between the tables and the cupboard, the procession bringing the second course is shown, led by the Treasurer (7) and Controller of the Household (8) immediately followed by the Sewer (9). They are approaching 'the Table within the Raile' where the King is being served by the kneeling cupbearer. Arming towels were worn by the sewer and cupbearer although they cannot be seen on the engraving.<sup>86</sup> Similarly invisible are the 'pickt flowers to strow on y<sup>e</sup> Tables and sideboards' which were recorded in the royal accounts for such events.<sup>87</sup> Flower slips had been scattered on tables in the sixteenth century and probably earlier, and may have influenced the weaving of tabling with sprigs of flowers which has remained popular from the seventeenth century to the present day (Ills 3.17 & 3.18). The dishes were supported on stands of different heights enabling their rims to sail over or under each other.

Such feasts were meticulously planned. Patrick Lamb, one of the Master Cooks, was instrumental in organising the coronations of 1685, 1689 and 1702.<sup>88</sup> In 1685 he was paid for a quire of 'large paper to draw the Draughts of the Tables' and in 1702, for a pair of 'Mathematicall Compasses to draw y<sup>e</sup> Tables' as well as 'Nosegayes . . . used for dressing the Modell of the Tables to shew the officers'.<sup>89</sup> In a special volume for James II's coronation, Lamb recorded such matters as the Bills of Fare, the number of 'messes' of meat and sweetmeats for each table, the proportions of meat, poultry and other provisions

<sup>84</sup> Latham & Matthews (1974)\*, 7/428.

<sup>85</sup> Ashmole (1672)\*. This appears to show the feast of 1671, for the Lord Chamberlain wrote that 'the Knights of the Order to bee placed two at a Messe'. Previously, the knights had been seated four at mess. PRO LC5/193, 5, 11 & 15.

<sup>86</sup> Fine Holland was provided by the royal linendraper to make arming towels on this and similar occasions. PRO LS1/11, /12 & /13.

<sup>87</sup> LS8/9, 66, Installation of 1673.

<sup>88</sup> In 1689 he was paid a hundred pounds 'for his care & Paines in y<sup>e</sup> Managem<sup>t</sup> of the whole Business of the Corronacon Entertainment'. LS8/26, 87.

<sup>89</sup> LS8/22; LS8/40, 6 & 7v.

for the cooks. In addition, he sketched the three sizes of pewter stands and noted the numbers of each required.<sup>90</sup> Following this initial planning, the table linen required was supplied by Miles Martin, the royal linen draper. After the coronation, the ewery officers claimed payment for the carriage of linen, the provision of orange flower water, the 'pinching' of thirty-one dozen napkins as well as 'for nailes to tack the cupboards'.<sup>91</sup> The engraved plan of the coronation feast shows that the cupboards were tiered and it was plainly necessary to tack the cupboard cloths to keep them in place.<sup>92</sup>

### 3.4 *NAPERY 'GENERATED' BY STUART DINING CEREMONY*

During the seventeenth century there was a noticeable reduction in the variety of cloths in the linen presses of great houses. In broad terms, as dining became more focused on food and company, its ceremony was simplified, largely losing its political and liturgical connotations. As a result, except for certain royal events which continued traditional practices, cloths such as arming towels and coverpanes fell into disuse early in the century.

As long towels are regularly found in inventories until about 1650, it seems that hands continued to be washed at table with rose or orange-flower water being poured from a ewer and caught in a basin placed upon a long towel. After the Restoration, long towels disappear and towards the end of the century hand towels are rarely listed.<sup>93</sup> The disappearance of hand towels suggests that the French habit was adopted of wiping the hands upon a napkin. At the Court of Louis XIV the napkin was dampened and folded in a special way termed *baton rompu*.<sup>94</sup> A factor in this changing practice was the introduction of forks which were supplied within the English royal household from the 1670s.<sup>95</sup>

Although the royal household continued to purchase towelling until William and Mary's accession, it was mostly of diaper to make towels for the gentlemen waiters' table. These were not in fact used for washing but were spread across several laps in lieu of napkins, as had sometimes been the practice in fifteenth-century Flanders.<sup>96</sup>

90 LS9/49, 17.

91 LS8/22.

92 See engravings in Sandford (1687)\*.

93 For example, no long towels were included amongst the linen sent with the Duke of Richmond on his embassy to Denmark. 1673 STUART.

94 For dining at the French court see Saule (1993) and Saule (1996). Hand towels continued to be woven and used in both Holland and Scotland into the eighteenth century. See Burgers (1987) & London, Phillips, 22.7.97, Lot 389.

95 For major entertainments cutlery was hired. For the Garter feast in 1667, 'knives and spoones' were hired 'for the Lords that attended on the King', but significantly no forks, LS8/6; similarly, knives were provided in 1673 for the Dutch ambassadors but no forks, LS8/10. However, in 1677 and 1683 forks were provided for the visit of the Prince of Orange, LS8/13 & /17, and also for the Coronation in 1685, LS8/22. It is possible that the King and Queen used forks from the Restoration; a case was made in 1671 for 'ye Queenes knife, fork and spoone', LS8/8.

96 Refer to footnote 45.

During the first half of the seventeenth century cupboard cloths continue to be found in many inventories made from damask, diaper and plain cloth. Side table or sideboard cloths begin to appear at this time occasionally listed with cupboard cloths in the same inventory.<sup>97</sup> After the Restoration, cupboard cloths are found less frequently but sideboard cloths, often en suite with tablecloths and napkins, and in Sletia as well as Holland damask and diaper, are widely found.<sup>98</sup> Indeed some of these cupboard cloths may have been sideboard cloths in all but name, for the annotation to the engraving of the Garter feast of 1671 refers to the side tables as 'court cupboards' (Ill. 3.16). Generally sideboard cloths were made from standard 3-ells wide tabling and not of cloth with the variety of widths used in the sixteenth century.

In contrast to the disappearance of arming towels, coverpanes, long and short towels, and the replacement of cupboard cloths by sideboard cloths, tablecloths and napkins continued to be found in large numbers throughout the seventeenth century. Although the dimensions of individual cloths are now infrequently recorded in inventories, it seems that most tablecloths were 3 ells wide. It appears that the royal household used 3-ells wide tablecloths except for dining-in-state or 'dining publique', when 4-ells wide or even wider cloths were used. There is an engraving of James I entertaining the Spanish Ambassador in 1623 at a broad table, apparently covered with a 4 ells-wide tablecloth. (Ill. 3.19). As in the Tudor period, the dishes are brought to the table in procession, led by a high-ranking gentleman servant with his staff of office, and presented to the King on bended knee. None the less some changes are noticeable for none of the servants have arming towels and the diners have their own napkins across their laps.

Charles II also used 4-ells wide tabling (3 yds) for 'state cloths' which seem to have been six yards long, to fit a table about 14ft 4in. (4.4m) long by 5ft 4in. (1.6m) wide.<sup>99</sup> These were few in number, the majority of tablecloths for both the King's and Queen's tables were 3 ells wide (2¼ yds) and three yards long to fit modest tables some 5ft 4in. (1.6m) long by 3ft wide (0.9m).<sup>100</sup>

For the Coronation Feast in 1685 for James II, 4-ells wide tabling was not available as ten yards of superfine damask tabling was bought for their Majesties' table and a further ten yards of napkinning 'to sow to the ~~the~~ Table clo.'. <sup>101</sup> In 1690 a quantity of 4-ells wide tabling was obtained, possibly by special order, to make thirty damask tablecloths for

97 1609 ASKEW, 1630 WILLIS, 1637 WILLIAMS.

98 The Earl of Ossery's inventory included fine diaper and 'Slezy small sideboard clothes', 1681 OSSERY. Viscount Montague had damask and Holland diaper sideboard cloths, 1682 MONTAGU. Montague Drake, Esq. had Irish damask and Holland diaper sideboard cloths, 1699 DRAKE.

99 LS1/4, agreement with royal linen draper Miles Martin includes 'Superfine Damaske iij yards broad . . . xx<sup>s</sup> yard'.

100 LS1/5, /7, /11, etc.

101 LS1/27.

William III's expedition to Ireland which culminated at the Battle of the Boyne.<sup>102</sup> Even larger cloths were provided for dining in state in 1691 and for the expedition to Flanders in 1693. These were made from two five-yard lengths of damask tabling 'sowed down the middes' to produce cloths to cover an almost square table about 12ft (3.7m) long by 10ft 6in. (3.2m) wide.<sup>103</sup> Such a table could accommodate as many as eighteen diners which suggests that on campaign the King dined with his senior officers. There are illustrations of similar tables being used in Germany at this period (Ill. 3.20).

At the Restoration Court, napkins were 'pinched' or folded into decorative shapes on formal occasions. Stefan Bursche in *Tafelzier des Barock* lists a number of books with instructions for pinching napkins, the earliest published in Italy in the sixteenth century followed by several in Germany in the seventeenth century.<sup>104</sup> These works often gave instructions for carving meat, poultry, fish and even fruit as well as pinching both napkins and tablecloths. Messibugo in his book, first published in Ferrara in 1549, wrote of a table 'con salviette a piu modi & con diverse foggie di piegature divinamente fatte' [with napkins of the latest pattern and exquisitely folded in various ways].<sup>105</sup> Two of the later German works by Harsdörffer and Glorez, published in 1655 and 1699 respectively, owed much, including several of their plates, to a work published in Padua in 1639 and written in Italian by 'Messer Mattia Giegher . . . Dell' Ill Nazione Alemmana in Padova'.<sup>106</sup> Giegher illustrated a range of designs from the simple to the breathtakingly complicated (Ill. 3.21). In view of his rudimentary written instructions he seems disingenuous when he states '*Chi sa fare il cane, puo fare ancora qual si voglia altra spezie d'animali quadrepedj*' ['who can make the dog, will be able to make any species of quadruped'].<sup>107</sup>

From the weight of literature, the setting of tables with such fantastic menageries of napkins must have been *à la mode* in Germany and by the second half of the seventeenth century their popularity had spread. At a dinner given by the States General for William of Orange in 1672, 'the napkins were very nicely folded in the forms of doves, rabbits, peacocks, dolphins and all sorts of fowl'. C. A. Burgers believes that the use of such exotica was confined to great feasts and that 'they were cleared away just before eating began and were used as decorations once the food was served' (Ill. 3.22).<sup>108</sup> This view is supported by the descriptions given in Giles Rose's *The Perfect School of Instructions for Officers of the Mouth*, published in London in 1681 and apparently translated from the French. The book is not illustrated but it contains very detailed instructions 'to fold all

102 LS8/26. Tablecloths 4½ yds long by 3 yds wide, i.e. to fit table of 9ft 4in. (2.8m) long by 6 ft (1.8m) wide, if 18 inch drops.

103 LS1/35 & LS8/29.

104 Bursche (1974), iv. *Servietten*, 16-17.

105 Messibugo (1557)\*, 9.

106 Harsdörffer (1665)\*, Glorez (1699)\*.

107 Giegher (1639)\*, comment on No. 6 *Un' orso* [a bear].

108 Burgers (1987), 151.

sorts of Table-Linnen into all sorts of Figures, etc'. Towards the end of the lengthy instructions 'to fold a Napkin in the fashion of a Cock', he writes 'you must make him a comb and wattles, and Beard of some red stuff; and for the end of the Beak you may make it of a large Quill . . . which must be fastened with a little Gum-Dragon'. Clearly such a napkin was not intended to be used.

There were, of course, simpler designs. Rose explains that the two basic operations were 'to battoner and to friser, that is, to pleat and frise your Linnen'. He then describes how to battoner a napkin which had been illustrated in the first plate of Giegher's book (see Ill. 3.23).

First take a napkin and fould it over-thwart, and so father it up into little pleats with his fingers, the closest and smallest that he can possibly do, pinching it hard too with his fingers, as he goes along, as low and close to the Table as may be; this fashion will serve to make a great many covers, and do ordinarily serve to be presented, when hands are washed.

Rose continues with a description 'to frise a napkin' which had been illustrated by Giegher in his second and third plates (Ill. 3.24).

When your napkin is battoned or pleated in small pleates, then you must begin to frise it . . . to pinch it again cross-wise very small . . . as hard as ever you can possible.<sup>109</sup>

It is difficult to know when elaborate folding of napkins was first practised in England. At Court in 1660, 'John Wray folder of napkins' was paid thirty shillings for five meals for the Danish Ambassador.<sup>110</sup> Subsequently, payments were regularly made to the Officers of the Ewry for 'pinching napkins'.<sup>111</sup> In 1669, Pepys noted in his diary,

and among other things was mightily pleased with the fellow that came to lay the cloth, and fold the napkins, which I like so well, as that I am resolved to give him 40s to teach my wife to do it.<sup>112</sup>

As this was both a novelty to Pepys, and an outsider was employed to pinch the napkins at Court in 1660, it seems that the elaborate folding of napkins was introduced into England at about this time (Ill. 3.25).

Within the royal household some preparatory work was carried out in advance. In 1674, John Littlemore was paid 'for carryeing the Cloths & Napkins (that was pinch'<sup>t</sup> agt St Georges Feast) by wa<sup>tr</sup> to Windsor'. The suggestion, in this entry, that tablecloths as well as napkins were pinched, as illustrated by Harsdörffer (Ill. 3.26), is reinforced by a

<sup>109</sup> Rose (1681)\*, 113, 108 & 109.

<sup>110</sup> LS8/3.

<sup>111</sup> LS8/9, /10, /11, etc.

<sup>112</sup> Latham & Matthews (1974)\*, 9/423; also see 9/115.

payment the same year 'for pinching tableclothes & napkins for the Ambass<sup>er</sup> table'.<sup>113</sup> Harsdörffer recommended that napkins should be starched before they were pinched. Although this practice is not mentioned by Rose it seems that it was done in the royal household, particularly in the eighteenth century.<sup>114</sup>

When in use napkins were laid across the lap, although for *al fresco* dining, they could be attached to the waistcoat using a napkin hook (Ills 3.27 & 3.28).<sup>115</sup> Until about 1660, napkins were still one Flemish ell in width, but thereafter those of finer quality were woven in broader widths, particularly 5 quarters of an ell (90 cm) and in the eighteenth century even wider (Ill. 3.29; also see Ills 9.36 to .39 & 9.50). It is possible that the change was owing to the dessert course being regularly served at the dining table, rather than in a banqueting house. Alternatively, it may have been in response to the burgeoning of skirts, which for women reached its apogee in the mantuas of the 1740s, coincidentally with the widest napkins. In 1711, *The Spectator* had noted the passing of towering head-dresses, or *fontanges* in favour of ever-widening skirts,

The fair sex are run into great extravagancies. Their petticoats ... are now blown up into a more enormous concave ... the superfluity of ornaments ... seems only to have fallen from their Heads upon their lower parts. What they have lost in Height they have made up in Breadth and contrary to all Rules of Architecture widen their foundations at the same time as they shorten the superstructure.<sup>116</sup>

### 3.5 DEVELOPMENTS IN THE FIRST HALF OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

Although there were changes in the way in which meals were served and the times at which they were taken, these do not seem to have had a significant impact upon the supplies of napery. Oyster cloths of plain linen or coarse diaper appear towards the end of the seventeenth century and continue to be found into George II's reign.<sup>117</sup> Some small cloths

<sup>113</sup> LS8/10, 81 & 60.

<sup>114</sup> Harsdörffer (1665)\*, 20.

For the Garter Feast of 1752, James Towers, the Yeoman of the Ewry was paid 'for Pinching of Napkins', £4 and for 'washing & starching vj doz napkins', 6s. LS8/90, 63v.

<sup>115</sup> Napkin hooks are found in London goldsmiths' ledgers, e.g. London, Royal Bank of Scotland, Child & Co., CH/194/1 and /2, Joseph Maynard Esq bought two gold napkin hooks in 1663. PRO C114/179, Thomas Fowle's 'Daybook', silver napkin hook, 21.5.1666.

<sup>116</sup> Quoted in Ginsburg (1984), 21.

<sup>117</sup> V & A, RC U21 Woburn Bills, 5 Feb. 1693, 9yds course oyster cloth at 3d.

See 1701 FOCHE, 1704 THOMAS & 1718 MONTAGUE for oyster cloths.

Oyster cloths were regularly provided in the royal household.

LS8/13, 1677 'Diaper for making oyster cloths'.

LS1/37, 1693 'Oyster cloths . . . for Grooms of the Bedchamber & the fish larder'.

LS8/66, 1727 'or providing oyster cloths, . . . for one whole year'.

LS13/115, 1714 'Ann Lucas to be the Kings Oysterwoman, with leave for her to sett forth ye Kings cloth'.



for supper, tea and breakfast of both diaper and damask begin to be made, as well as small napkins for tea and breakfast.<sup>118</sup>

At great events such as Coronations, the traditional ceremonies still pertained although the table settings were more three-dimensional than in previous centuries. For the Coronation of 1727, there was a payment for four 'Hammers to Nail down the Table Cloths'.<sup>119</sup> Tablecloths had in all probability been nailed at an earlier date, for Patrick Lamb's book *Royal Cookery* published in 1710 contained two diagrams of 'Coronation Dinners' which showed the layout of the dishes. Appended to both diagrams were similar notes; that to table 20 read,

The three middle rows of this Table rises higher. The second row eight inches higher than the sides and the Middle eight inches higher than them. Raised with boards and cover's hansomly with linnen.<sup>120</sup>

In 1727, the tables in the body of Westminster Hall used this stepped cross-section, although the King's table was flat with the dishes raised on sixty-four stands. Even on the stepped tables, 'paint and Gilt stands' were used to support 'Large Pyramids of Sweetmeat Tarts'. The three-dimensional effect must have been dramatic with 'star' and 'rose pyramids' of dried sweetmeats and comfits rising 3ft 6in. from the top steps of the tables.<sup>121</sup>

Although arming towels continued to be used at such events coverpanes were not. Between 1660 and 1760 the King's place was probably set in the French fashion as described by Rose,

. . . plates three or four fingers from edge of the table at right hand of each plate place a knife, then the spoons, the brim or edge of the spoon downwards; with forks . . . then Bread upon the Plate, and the Napkin upon the Bread; Cadnat [Cadenet] . . . set it on the hand of the plates, lay a napkin on it, upon that a knife, a spoon, a Fork, with a salt . . . then cover it over again with another Napkin that must cover your Cadnat and Cover.<sup>122</sup>

Although napkins continued to be folded throughout the eighteenth century, the tight pinched pleats of battoning and frising fell into disuse. Simpler designs with ampler folds

118 1718 MONTAGU, 21 damask supper cloths.  
1740 NORRIS, 2 tea cloths.

V & A, 86 NN3, Sir Richard Hoare's bills, 'Oct 9th 1732, bought of Nath<sup>l</sup> Turner & Co.' includes 'diaper for 6 Breakfast clo<sup>s</sup>'.

1731 CROWLEY, Breakfast napkins.

119 LS8/66, 87v.

120 Lamb (1710)\*, opposite 35.

121 LS8/66. 92v & 87v. Top of pyramids 7ft 2ins (2.2m) from floor.

122 Rose (1681)\*, 190.

became popular such as those depicted in the painting of the coronation of the future Emperor Joseph II as King of the Romans, in 1764 (Ill. 3.30).

### 3.6 CONCLUSIONS

Although general trends in dining ceremony can be seen, there was considerable diversity both between and within the households of the sovereign, nobility, gentry and merchant elite, depending upon the preferences, ambitions and affections of the head of the household. During the sixteenth century, there was an elaborate ceremonial for dining-in-state both for the crown and nobility, with allusions to the mass in the handling of tablecloths and towels. In addition, arming towels with their quasi-liturgical function, were confined to those of noble blood, unlike coverpanes which were also used by wealthy commoners despite their similarity in purpose to chalice veils.

Despite the apparent influence of Burgundian etiquette upon the English court, there were detailed differences in dining practice, notably the use in Burgundy of the multi-purpose *serviette* which served as hand-towel, coverpane and napkin. In France, this Burgundian practice continued into the reign of Louis XIV and beyond, with a special 'value' attached to the *serviette*, as it continued to be used to wipe the royal hands and to cover the nef.

Within the English royal household some aspects of sixteenth century ceremonial continued to be used for coronations and Garter feasts into the eighteenth century. The sovereign continued to dine publicly, although during several reigns this occurred infrequently. These events retained vestiges of 'traditional' service. The most significant change that occurred was the habit of dining privately using a much simplified ceremonial, starting in the great households of the early sixteenth century. Elizabeth even ate in private when dining in state. Girouard recounts the experience of Thomas Platter, a German who visited Nonsuch in 1599,

He saw the royal table prepared for dinner in the presence chamber ... The first course was brought in by forty yeomen of the guard. But the queen was not in the room and never appeared; she was at a separate table in her privy chamber. Sayes were taken, wine and beer were poured, three courses and a dessert were served, all with full ceremony to an imaginary queen at an empty table.<sup>123</sup>

The banquet, save for the lavish entertainments on exceptional occasions, was in a sense a private extension of a public event. Thus, it is not surprising that during the seventeenth century it was generally incorporated as a third course, now called the dessert, and served at the table in the dining chamber.

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<sup>123</sup> Girouard (1978), 110.

The London merchant elite seem to have adopted similar practices to those used by the nobility when dining privately, although conversation apparently dominated their tables at an earlier date, when dining was indeed for 'love or business'.

In the eighteenth century, the patterns of dining changed, with supper increasing in importance, the development of English interpretations of *service à la Française*, and the growth of separate occasions for enjoying new beverages such as tea and chocolate. None the less, their effect on the supply of napery was slow, for it was not until the second half of the century that supper cloths and tea napkins became common.



III. 3.1 The Triangular Lodge, Rushton, Northamptonshire, 1595.  
In spite of its name, it was built as 'an especially fanciful and beautiful  
banqueting house' by Sir Thomas Tresham.





III. 3.2 Henry VIII dining in the privy chamber (detail).  
Thought to be a late sixteenth century drawing but 'may be representative of the King's dining habits in the 1540s'.



III. 3.3  
Jheronimus Bosch (c.1450-1516), *The Marriage at Cana*.  
The cupbearer armed 'baudericke wise', is in the centre of the painting.





Ill. 3.4  
A torch dance at a feast, Flemish, early 16th century (actual size).  
The lord wears his *serviette* over his shoulder whilst the gentleman waiter in the doorway, has his around his neck. The lady has either the tablecloth or a *serviette* in her lap.



Ill. 3.5 Sir Henry Unton at dinner, English School, c. 1596 (detail).  
The gentlemen flanking Sir Henry have their napkins over the left shoulder or arm whilst the lady's opposite is folded across her lap.



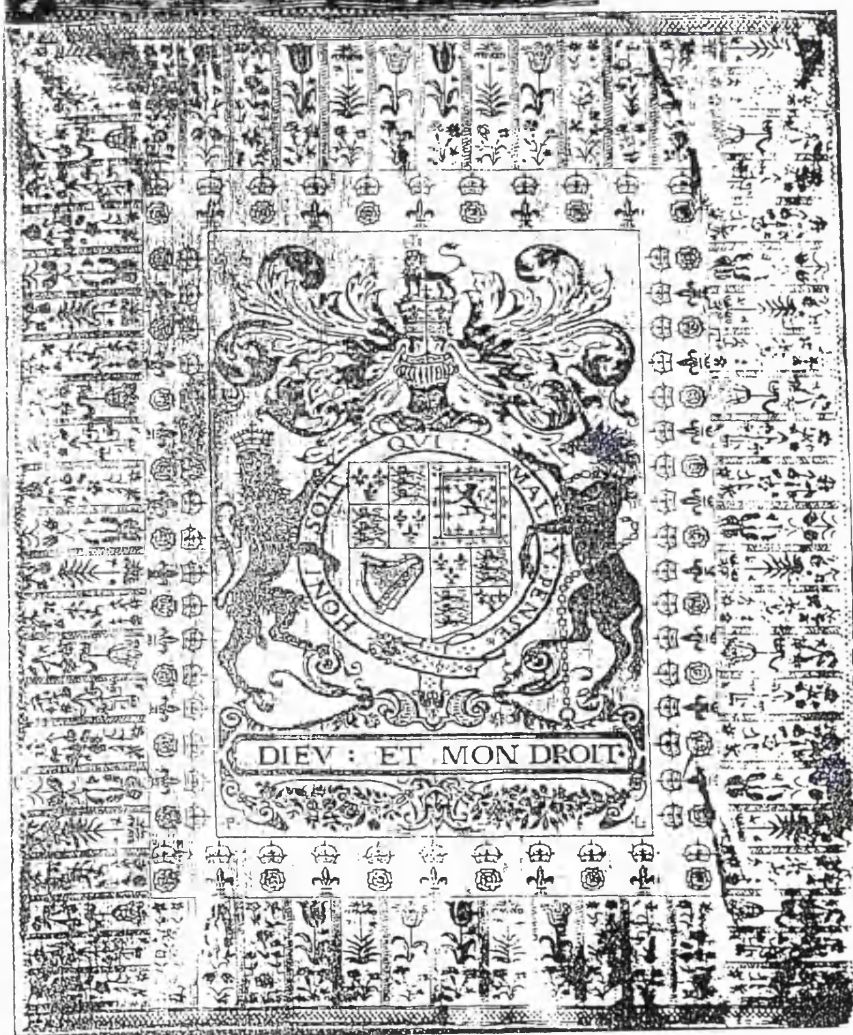


### Ill. 3.6

Napkin with the Stuart arms, part of the gift of 1606 from the States General to Henry, Prince of Wales. Commissioned the previous year from Passchier Lammertijn who included his initials P and L at the bottom of the field. Haarlem, 1605, 71 by 99 cm.

### Ill. 3.7

Banquet napkin from the same gift. Approx. 105 by 140 cm. The centre is identical to the standard napkin which is surrounded by wide borders of tulips and crown imperials. The two images appear to be different as they have been photographed from opposite faces of the cloths.







Ill. 3.8 The banqueting room in the tower at Lacock Abbey, Wiltshire, c.1550.



Ill. 3.9 The Duc de Berry dining. Detail of miniature by the Limburg brothers, c.1413. The cupboard of plate is to the left. In the centre, the sewer is armed with a diagonal towel and the carver has a *serviette* over his shoulder.





III. 3.10 Cupboard construction. Matthias Giegher, 1639.

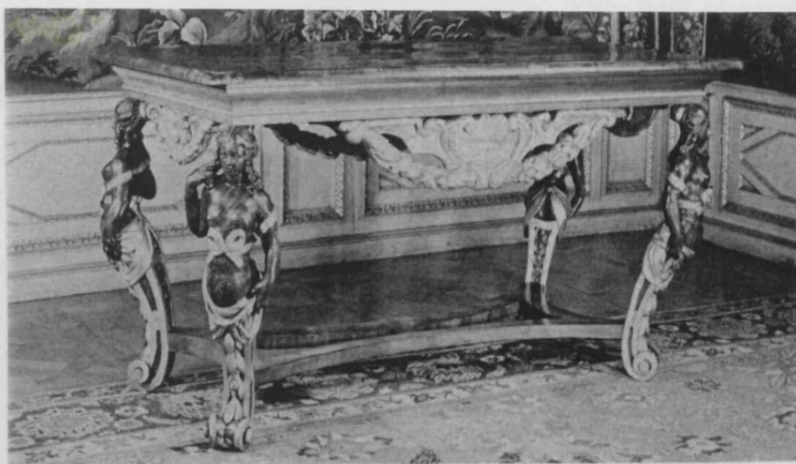


III. 3.11  
Five-tiered cupboard  
in the Residenz,  
Munich, 1590.



III. 3.12 Flat serving table and tiered cupboard. Hans Burgkmair, 1510-20.  
The tablecloth, presumably of diaper, has an embroidered band and fringe  
decorating its edges.





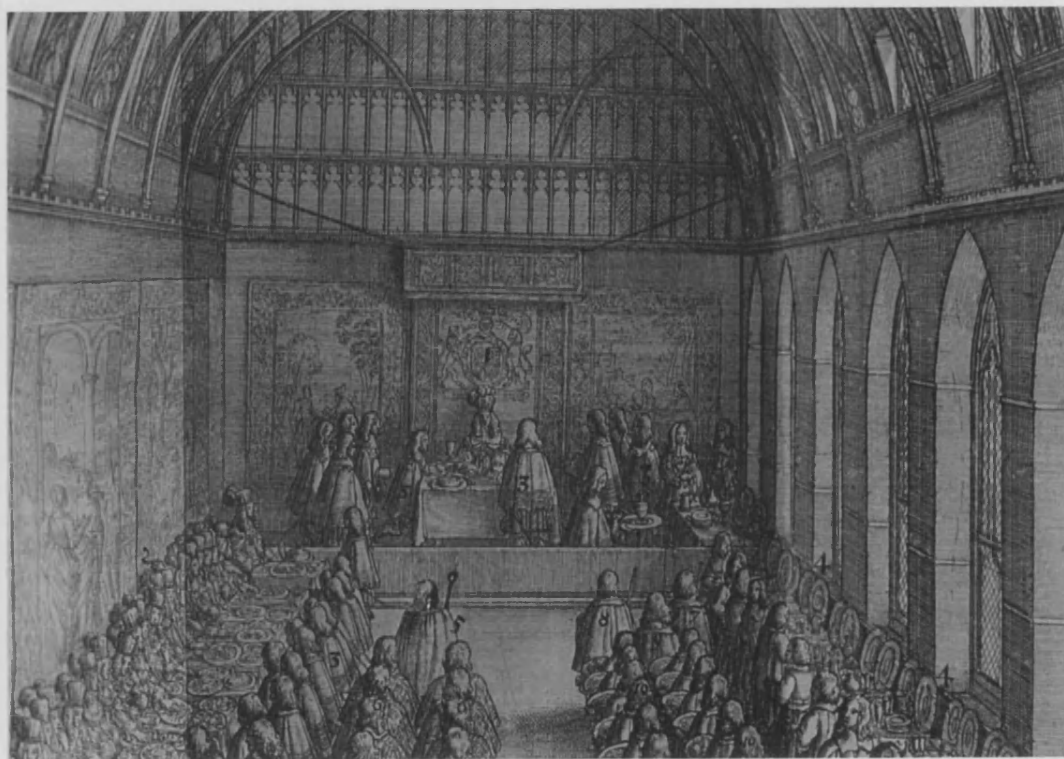
III. 3.13 Sideboard from the Great Dining Room at Ham House, Surrey. One of a pair, 1650-60.



III. 3.14 The Marble Dining Room at Ham House, Surrey, c.1675.  
There is a white marble-topped cedar sideboard in the alcove behind the oval gate-leg dining table.



III. 3.15 *Charles I and Henrietta Maria dining in state*, G Houckgeest, 1635.

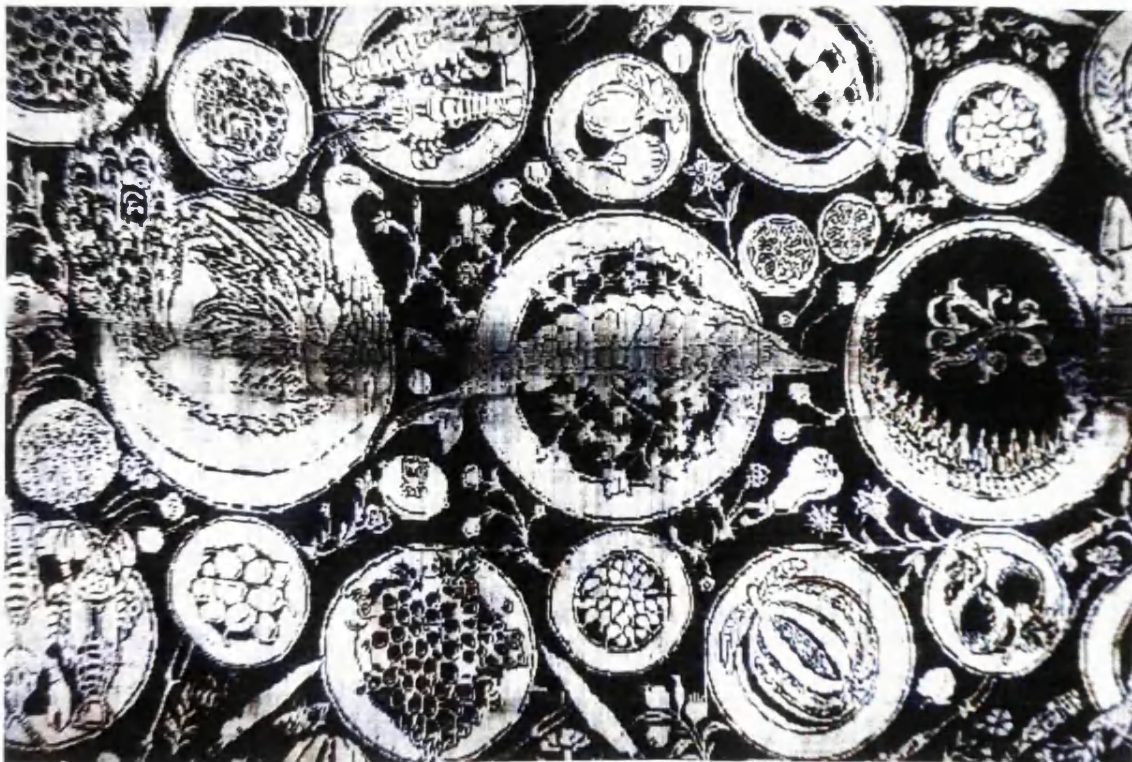


III. 3.16 *The Garter Feast at Windsor*, in 1671. Wenceslaus Hollar.





Ill. 3.17 Flower slips scattered between fruit on the table of the Jacob Ulfeldts family. Denmark, c.1620 (detail).



Ill. 3.18 Flower slips and fruit scattered between the dishes on the field of a damask tablecloth (detail).  
The cloth was woven by Karl Thyssen in 1621 at the Royal Silk Factory in Copenhagen. It has a blue silk weft and is from a design by Passchier Lammertijn.



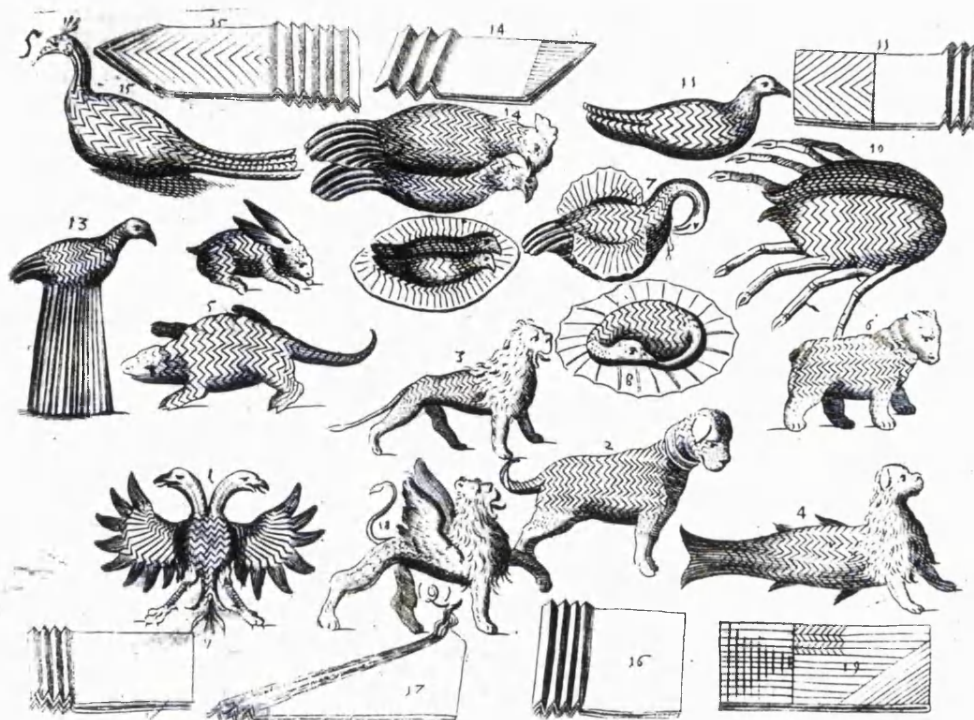


Ill. 3.19 James I dining in state with the Spanish Ambassador, 1623.



III. 3.20 A shooting-club dining at a wide table in Regensburg, c.1677.  
A fragment of a target of *die Gilde der Regensburger Pirsch-Büchsen-Schützen*.



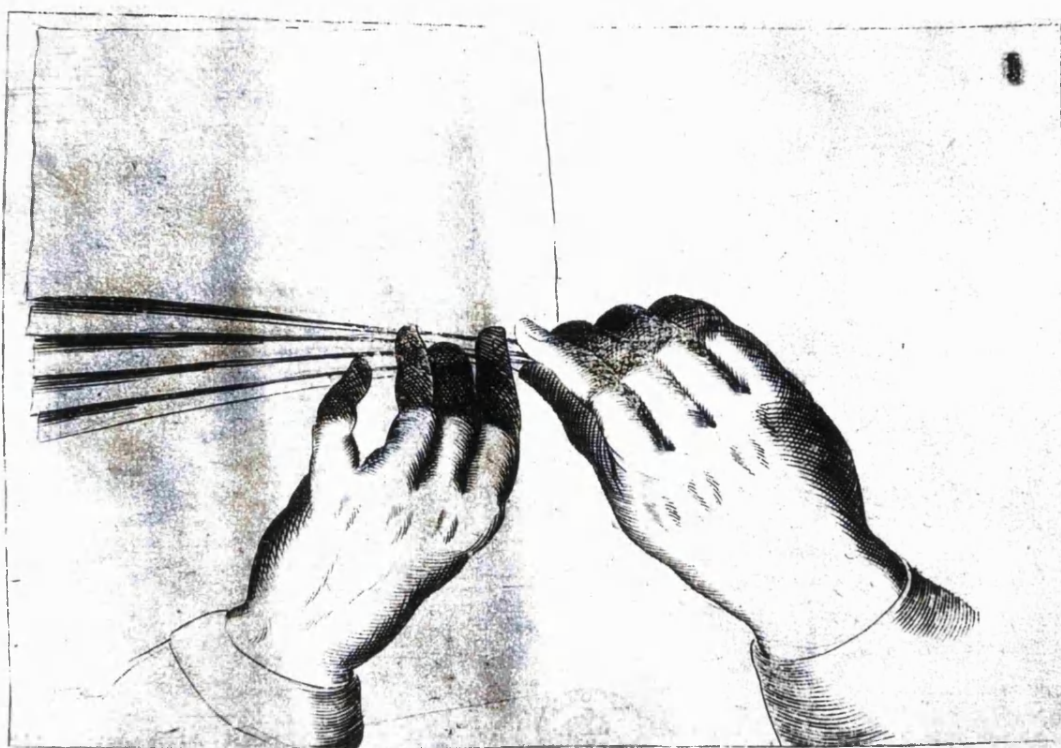


III. 3.21 Designs for pinching napkins, Matthias Giegher, 1639.  
Plate 5, which illustrates the dog, no. 2.

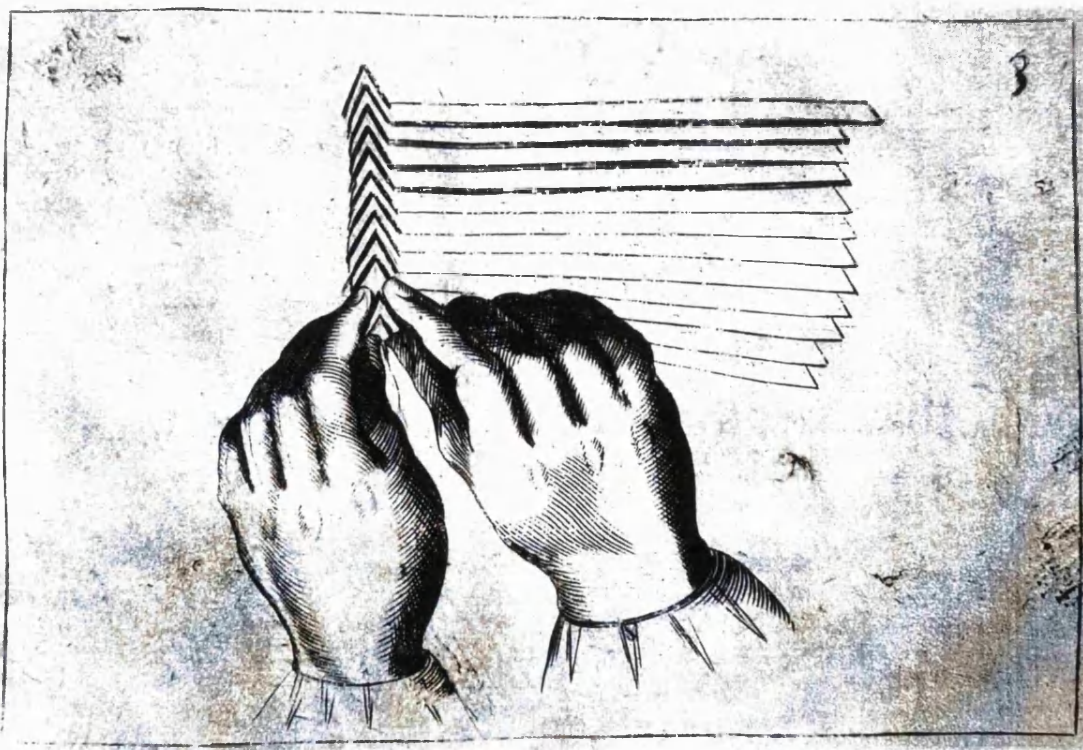


III. 3.22 Dining in Nuremberg, 1665. Pinched napkins in exotic designs have apparently been moved from the table and placed on the cupboard, below the tall covered cups.

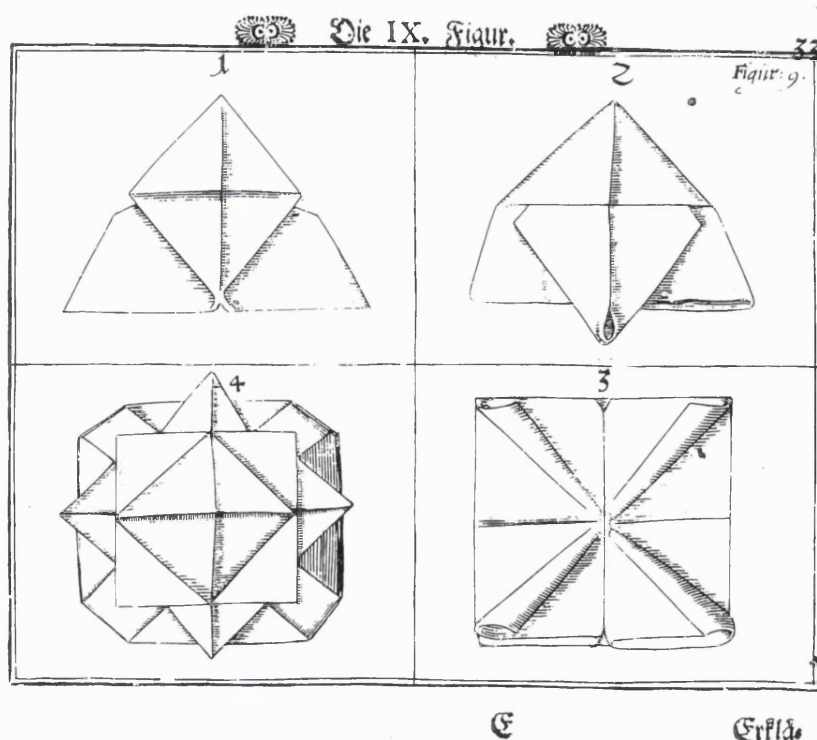




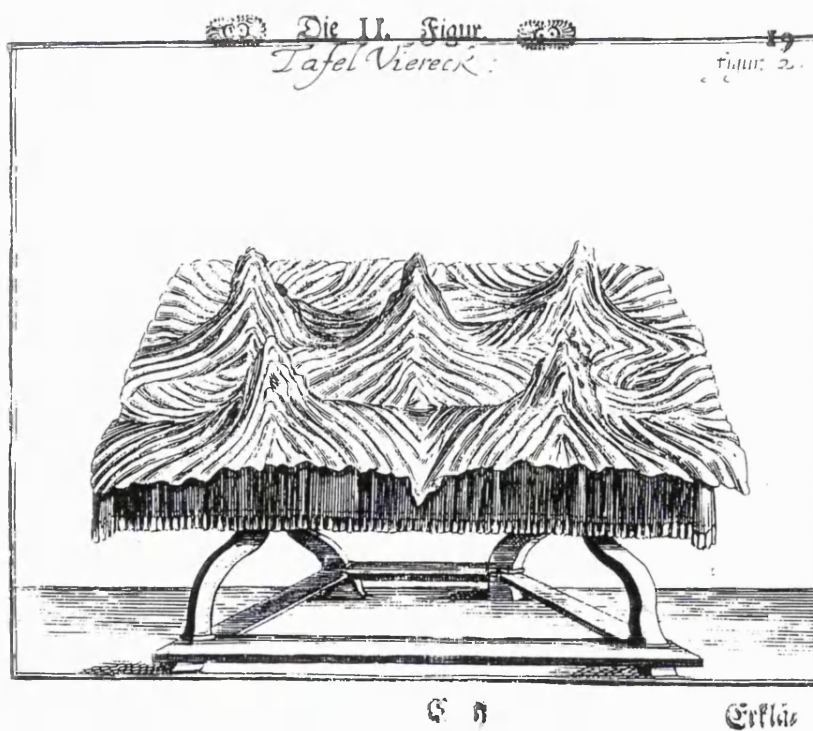
III. 3.23 'Battoning' a napkin. Matthias Giegher, 1639.



III. 3.24 'Counter-battoning' or 'frising' a napkin. Matthias Giegher, 1639.



Ill. 3.25 Stage by stage diagram for a relatively straightforward design for folding rather than 'pinching' a napkin. Harsdörffer, 1665.



Ill. 3.26 A pinched tablecloth. Harsdörffer, 1665.

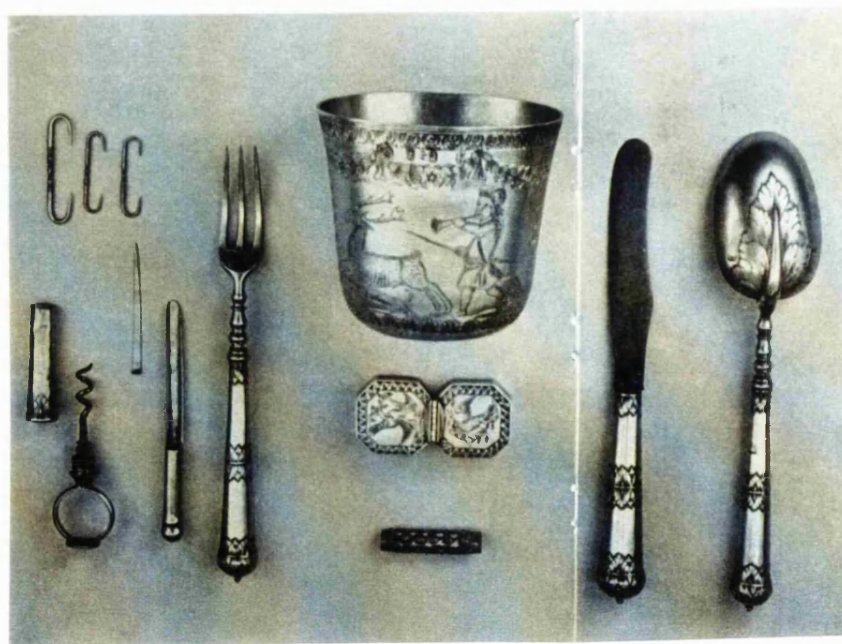




Ill. 3.27  
Napkins attached to waistcoats using napkin hooks. Munich, 1747.

Both the gentlemen to the right in blue and to the left in black have their napkins hooked to their clothing.

Ill. 3.28  
Silver travelling set of beaker and cutlery, including three napkin hooks. Charles Overing, London, 1701.







III. 3.29 Napkin with a hunt of wild bulls and an amazing aquatic border. Saxony, c.1750, 97 by 115 cm.

This example has a red silk weft but the Earl of Shrewsbury owned a set of white linen napkins of identical design and size (London, Phillips, 19.9.95, Lot 252).



III. 3.30 Folded napkins at the coronation feast of the King of the Romans, Frankfurt, 1764.

## CHAPTER 4 SUPPLY: PATTERNS OF IMPORTATION

*The surest Way for a Nation to increase in Riches is  
to prevent the Importation of such Foreign Commodities  
as may be raised at Home .<sup>1</sup>*

- Joshua Gee, 1729

### 4.1 INTRODUCTION

Throughout the period from 1450 to 1750, linen was the most important manufactured import into England. For the sixteenth century, A. M. Millard showed that linens accounted by value for more than 40 per cent of manufactured goods and over 20 per cent of total imports excluding wine.<sup>2</sup> An analysis of both the Merchant Strangers and English Merchants port books for 1633 which is the only year during the first half of the century when they both survive, shows that linen cloth accounted for 12 per cent of total imports (see Chapter 5, Table 5.4). For the eighteenth century, Negley Harte states that 'Linen accounted for some 15 per cent of total imports in 1700, roughly the same in 1750, falling thereafter to about 5 per cent in 1800'.<sup>3</sup>

Damasks and diapers, which were the most expensive linens, constituted only a small proportion of these linen imports: for example in 1560, less than 1 per cent<sup>4</sup> and in 1633, 2.4 per cent. As a proportion of total imports, damask and diapers represented some 0.2 and 0.3 per cent in 1560 and 1633 respectively, and although it seems that the proportion increased, it was never more than 1 per cent.<sup>5</sup>

During the sixteenth century, figured linens were imported from Flanders and Brabant. Following the Dutch Revolt, some weavers moved north to Holland and during the seventeenth century damask and diaper table linen was imported from both the Spanish Netherlands and the United Provinces. At the same time German napery was shipped to London in increasing quantities and after the Restoration eclipsed Low Countries imports in quantity, if not in quality. Significant amounts of French diaper were openly imported when permitted by the authorities and smuggled during the periodic embargoes. Early in the eighteenth century, large quantities of narrow diaper were imported from Russia. In Ireland, the linen industry was developed, as in Russia, with the active encouragement of the government and during the second quarter of the century, Irish damasks began to challenge continental imports into England.

<sup>1</sup> Gee (1738)\*, i.

<sup>2</sup> Millard (1956)‡.

<sup>3</sup> Harte (1973), 75.

<sup>4</sup> Millard (1956)‡ Damask and diaper £875 / Total imports £574,870 = 0.2%

<sup>5</sup> PRO CUST 3/4 1699-1700 Damask and diaper 10,621 / total imports 1,484,636 = 0.7%  
/27 1724-1725 " " 12,545 / " " 1,463,572 = 0.9%  
/50 1749-1750 " " 21,340 / " " 2,231,475 = 1.0%

In the light of these developments, this chapter has two main aims: to track the imports of figured table linen in terms of quantity, quality and origin, and to assess the impact of growing German, French and Irish imports upon the sales of napery from the Low Countries.

The principal sources for this study are the customs records at the Public Record Office in London. From 1450 until the institution of the Inspector General's office in 1696, there are spasmodic survivals of customs documents. Before 1565, when the customs system was overhauled, a number of returns of 'tunnage and poundage' and 'Petty customs' survive, although often in poor condition.<sup>6</sup> Furthermore, for London they do not include details of the ports of lading of the goods being landed in England. From the reform in 1565, blank books were issued to the various officials in the Port of London and the outports. At the year-end the completed books were returned to the Exchequer. There were separate books both for Merchant Strangers (Alien Merchants) and for Merchant Denizens (English Merchants), as well as for coastal and overseas trade.<sup>7</sup> The principal books for overseas imports were supposed to include for each consignment: the vessel's name, home port, master and tonnage; the port of lading; the consignee; a quantified description of the goods, their value and the custom duties to be paid. Unfortunately, as time passed less and less of this information was entered. Coupled with the haphazard survival of the books, this has meant that reliable data for analysis is unevenly spread throughout the period.

The value of goods, and thus the duties payable, were calculated using set valuations for each commodity. These were listed in a Book of Rates which was usually issued with the accession of each monarch, although during certain reigns additional books were produced.<sup>8</sup> When commodities were landed that were not listed in the Book of Rates, the value was declared by the merchant and the duty calculated accordingly. This was the situation for both damask and diaper prior to 1558, when they first appeared in a Book of Rates. Even thereafter, diaper woven in Germany, which was clearly recognised as being of inferior worth, was assessed on a declared value.<sup>9</sup> This situation was regularised in the Book of Rates of 1604 which included rates for damask and diaper of both 'holland making' and 'sletia making'. In one sense, this is still confusing as damask woven in Flanders, as well as that in Holland, was included in the category 'of holland making' (see Table 4.1). Diaper woven in other countries, such as France, Portugal and Poland was not

<sup>6</sup> For the operation of the Customs before the reform of 1565, refer to Gras (1918).

<sup>7</sup> The term 'Merchant Denizens' is confusing as a number of Merchant Strangers obtained patents of denization. Nevertheless they continued, for the purposes of the customs, to be treated as Merchant Strangers, paying the higher rates of duty and being entered in the Strangers port books. See Mitchell (1995C).

<sup>8</sup> For the reform of 1565, and a discussion of sixteenth-century Books of Rates, refer to Willan (1962)\*.

<sup>9</sup> For the first few entries of a particular commodity the declared values showed some variation, but they soon became standardised. In effect they became unofficial additions to the Book of Rates then in force.

listed in the Books of Rates but was described in the port books as 'of the goodness of Sletia' and rated accordingly.

TABLE 4.1 CUSTOMS VALUATIONS OF DAMASK AND DIAPER TABLE LINEN

	'BOOK OF RATES' VALUATION PER YARD		
	1558 <sup>a</sup>	1604 <sup>b</sup>	1660 <sup>c</sup>
<b>DAMASK</b>			
'Holland' - Tabling	3s 4d	6s 8d	£1 0s 0d
- Towelling and napkining	1s 1 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>3</sub> d	2s 2d	7s 0d
'Sletia' - Tabling	None given	2s 0d	4s 0d
- Towelling and napkining	None given	8d	1s 4d
<b>DIAPER</b>			
'Holland' - Tabling	2s 0d	3s 0d	9s 0d
- Towelling and napkining	8d <sup>†</sup>	1s 0d	3s 0d
'Sletia' - Tabling	none given	1s 6d	3s 4d
- Towelling and napkining	none given	6d	1s 4d

*Notes*

a From PRO C66/920 (4 & 5 Philip & Mary).

b From PRO E122/173/3, 'The book of New Rates' (2 James I).

c From Edgar (1714)\*.

† This is the equivalent yardage rate, as towelling is valued per piece and napkins per dozen.

This system of assessment of duty produced considerable distortion in the market for linens in England, owing to both changes in quality and the actual prices of goods which were not reflected by changes in the Books of Rates.<sup>10</sup> This was particularly the case between 1660 and 1787 when although most of the linen rates remained unchanged, there were very marked improvements in the quality of German and Irish napery and a reduction, in real terms, of the cost of Dutch and Flemish table linen.<sup>11</sup> (Market prices and customs rates are discussed in Chapter 8.2.)

This customs system continued to function until the end of the eighteenth century but with the addition of the Inspector General's office, which was established in 1696 to provide reliable trade statistics for the government.<sup>12</sup> These took the form of summaries, written in large ledgers, prepared for the Port of London and the outports with data extracted from the port books. Imported goods were listed by their 'countries' of shipment with details of

<sup>10</sup> For a detailed discussion of these distortions, see Harte (1973).

<sup>11</sup> During this period, several custom house officers and lawyers wrote guides to the customs, often including lists of rates, duties and tables to facilitate the calculation of liabilities. These include: Edgar (1714)\*, Forster (1727)\*, Crouch (1738)\*, Leadbetter (1750)\*, Saxby (1757)\*.

<sup>12</sup> For establishment and operation of the Inspector General's office, see Hoon (1968).

their quantities and valuations.<sup>13</sup> The rates used to calculate the valuations were not those of the 1660 Book of Rates. For table linen, they were not only considerably lower but also did not have the large differentials between 'Holland' and 'Sletia' damask and diaper, which were a feature of the 1660 rates (see Appendix B1).

## 4.2 *PORT OF ENTRY*

During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries most overseas manufactures were imported into England through London.<sup>14</sup> Even for the first half of the eighteenth century, some estimates give London's share of England's overseas trade at about 80 per cent.<sup>15</sup> For luxury goods such as linen damasks and diapers, the proportion was much higher. A scan of the principal ports for 1618 indicates that very little fine table linen was landed outside London. A detailed check of some 70 English ports for 1685 shows that about 98 per cent of the total imports were through the Port of London (Table 4.2). From the evidence of the Inspector General's ledgers, a similar situation, with more than 95 per cent being imported through London, prevailed during the first half of the eighteenth century (Table 4.3). In view of these levels the trade through the outports is largely ignored.

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13 The 'countries' of shipment had varied status: some were sovereign states such as France and Sweden, others were colonies such as Jamaica and New England, whilst there were a few descriptions indicating a general geographical area such as the East Country.

14 Willan (1959), Chapter 3.

15 Minchington (1965), 35.



TABLE 4.2 IMPORTS OF LINEN DAMASK AND DIAPER THROUGH ALL PORTS 1685<sup>a</sup>

Ref. PRO E/190/	OUTPORT or Creek (in lower case)	Year	Low Countries		Sletia		French & Port- uguese Diaper	'Scotch' Diaper	Irish Diaper
			Damask	Diaper	Damask	Diaper			
			£	£	£	£	£	£	£
162/5	BERWICK	1685	-	-	-	-	-	27	-
1049/20	NEWCASTLE	"	-	4	11	4	-	-	-
"	Sunderland	"	-	2	-	-	-	-	-
"	Stockton	"	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
201/2	Whitby	"	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
328/1	KINGSTON	"	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
328/5	Grimsby	"	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
"	Bridlington Quay	"	-	-	66	-	-	-	-
328/6	Scarborough	"	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
398/14	BOSTON	"	-	-	-	2	-	-	-
440/1	LYNN	"	-	26	-	-	-	-	-
503/18	YARMOUTH	"	9	4	3	41	23	-	-
503/4	Blakeney	"	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
503/11	Dunwich	"	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
503/1	Aldeburgh	"	-	-	4	1	-	-	-
503/2	Woodbridge	"	-	-	-	4	-	-	-
613/2	IPSWICH	"	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
613/3	Colchester	"	-	-	1	7	-	-	-
613/9	Maldon	"	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
669/23	SANDWICH	1687	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
668/14	Rochester	1685	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
668/15	Milton	"	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
668/19	Dover	"	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
669/8	Faversham	1686	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
782/22	CHICHESTER	1685	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
782/12	Folkestone	"	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
782/13	Hythe	"	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
782/14	Romney	"	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
782/16	Winchelsea	"	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
782/15	Rye	"	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
782/17	Hastings	"	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
782/18	Pevensey	"	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
782/19	Meeching ...	"	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
782/21	New Shoreham	"	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
782/20	Arundel ...	"	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
834/4	SOUTHAMPTON	"	-	-	-	2	-	-	-
834/1	Portsmouth	"	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
887/3	POOLE	"	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
887/1	Lyme	"	-	53	-	-	23 <sup>b</sup>	-	-
887/5	Weymouth	1686	-	-	-	-	11	-	-
964/9	BARNSTAPLE	"	-	-	-	18	-	-	-
963/10	Ilfracombe	1685	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
963/1	EXETER	"	94	30	2	145	8	-	-
963/8	DARTMOUTH	"	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1049/14	PLYMOUTH	"	-	-	5	-	-	-	-
1049/13	Fowey	"	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1049/4	Looe	"	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1049/8	Truro	"	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1049/17	Penryn	"	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Ref. PRO E/190/	OUTPORT or Creek (in lower case)	Year	Low Countries		Sletia		French & Port- uguese Diaper	'Scotch' Diaper	Irish Diaper
			Damask	Diaper	Damask	Diaper			
			£	£	£	£			
1049/6	Mounts Bay	1685	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1049/7	St Ives	"	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1049/11	Padstow	"	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1049/20	Helston	"	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1093/8	BRIDGWATER	"	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1093/11	Minehead	"	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1148/1	BRISTOL	1687	-	-	37	3	-	-	189
1251/5	GLOUCESTER	1685	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1282/8	CARDIFF	1686	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1282/4	Swansea & Neath	1685	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1282/6	Chepstow	1686	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1311/9	MILFORD	1685	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1311/19	Carmarthen	"	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1346/12	CHESTER	"	-	-	-	-	-	-	6
1346/11	Caernarvon	"	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1346/14	Beaumaris	"	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1346/16	Liverpool	"	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1346/13	Lancaster	"	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1347/8	Conway	1686	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1448/7	CARLISLE	1688	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1448/8	Whitehaven	"	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Sub-totals	-	103	119	130	227	65	27	195
131/1, 133/1, 128/5 & 126/6	LONDON	1685	6,706	6,666	993	21,584	3,152	67	-
	Totals		6,809	6,785	1,123	21,811	3,217	94	195
<p>GRAND TOTALS</p> <p style="text-align: right;">£</p> <p>London<sup>c</sup>                      40,132</p> <p>Other ports                 866</p> <p style="text-align: right;">£40,998</p> <p>PROPORTION:</p> <p>London / Total        97.9%</p>									

## Notes

- a Or the year of the nearest surviving port book.
- b Portuguese diaper.
- c Includes £82 of Polish and Guernsey diaper.

TABLE 4.3 IMPORTS OF LINEN DAMASK AND DIAPER THROUGH ALL PORTS, 1700-1760

Reference PRO/CUST.3/	Year	Imports <sup>a</sup>			Proportion into London
		London	Other Ports	Total	
		£	£	£	%
4	1700 <sup>b</sup>	10,337	284	10,621	97.3
9	1706 <sup>c</sup>	3,446	46	3,492	98.7
13	1710	10,768	76	10,844	99.3
17	1715	10,856	283	11,139	97.5
22	1720	14,469	560	15,029	96.3
27	1725	12,183	361	12,544	97.1
30	1730	16,348	380	16,728	97.7
35	1735	14,303	277	14,580	98.1
40	1740	18,773	271	19,044	98.6
45	1745	11,677	75	11,752	99.4
50	1750	20,191	1,150	21,341	94.6
55	1755	11,957	240	12,197	98.0
60	1760	12,790	336	13,126	97.4

*Notes*

- a These values are not comparable to those in Table 4.2, as the Inspector General's rates for table linen were considerably less than those in the Book of Rates used to calculate valuations. entered in the port books (refer Appendix B1).
- b Michaelmas (29 September) 1699 until Michaelmas 1700.
- c Christmas 1705 until Christmas 1706 - given as 1706. Port book for previous year is missing.

4.3 *SMUGGLING*

The difficulty of using customs records either to inform mercantile policy, or to subsequently interpret it, has long been recognised, as 'many fine commodities . . . were imported by stealth'.<sup>16</sup> In 1729, Joshua Gee stated that smuggling distorted the apparent balance of trade with England's competitors particularly with France and Holland.

Their [French] Linnens are run in upon us in very great Quantities as are their Wine and Brandy from *Land's End* even to the *Downs*.

England takes from *Holland* great Quantities of fine *Hollands* Linnen, Threads, Tapes and Incles. But according to the Custom-house Accounts, we over-balance them in Trade to a considerable value. But when we consider the great Number of Smuggling Ships that are employed between this kingdom and *Holland*. . . it is apt to furnish the thinking Part of Mankind with other Notions.<sup>17</sup>

Smuggling took two main forms: the deceitful declaration of goods in the ports to attract lower duty and the landing of goods in coves out of sight of customs officers to avoid duties altogether. By its very nature, the level of smuggling activity is impossible to

<sup>16</sup> Child (1670)\*, 165.

<sup>17</sup> Gee (1738)\*, 18 & 26.

quantify. Nevertheless, it seems likely to rise as the rates of duties are increased and to peak when certain goods are embargoed. Willan writing of the situation in the sixteenth century took this view:

There seems, however, to be a tendency to exaggerate the extent of smuggling in this period. Smuggling is usually a response either to prohibitions or to high duties. No doubt it might pay to smuggle wool out of or wine into Elizabethan England ... It is more doubtful whether it was really worth bribing customs officers or running the risk of smuggling merely to evade duties on other goods, which amounted to only 5 per cent of their official values.<sup>18</sup>

This argument pertains to the importation of damasks and diapers until the second half of the seventeenth century. The situation was then changed by the first of several total bans on the importation of French linens and the start of a process of 'additional duties' and 'subsidies', which resulted in certain linens in the early eighteenth century paying over 70 per cent duty on initial cost.<sup>19</sup> These increases particularly disadvantaged French and Low Countries table linen at the expense of that from Germany, and inevitably encouraged smuggling and corruption. For example, as described later in this chapter, during the embargo on French linens between 1678 and 1685, quantities of French diaper purporting to be Sletia diaper were landed in London. At this time, William Culliford reported on a number of frauds in the West Country, often involving linens and mainly perpetrated with the connivance of local customs officers,

Edward Blackwall the Collector [at Bridgwater], not qualified either in discussion or understanding being altogether ignorant of customhouse businesse very sottish, dishonest and hath been privy to the smuggling trade.

Matthew Scattergood the surveyor, seldome or never sober; altogether uncapable of doing his duty, not honest, not in any measure qualified to discharge the trust reposed in him.<sup>20</sup>

During the eighteenth century, concern continued to be expressed at the smuggling of French linens, and there was a swelling chorus of complaints at Low Countries linen being passed off as German. An essay published in 1719 estimated that 'clandestine imports from France and Holland equalled a third of the legitimate trade'.<sup>21</sup> Negley Harte, who refers to this essay in his article 'The rise of protection and the English linen trade', whilst acknowledging that smuggling invalidates the reliability of statistics of the trade in linen,

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<sup>18</sup> Willan (1959), 66.

<sup>19</sup> Harte (1973), 81.

<sup>20</sup> PRO, T64/139, 52, William Culliford's reports on Customs Frauds 1680-82. The Author is grateful to Peter Earle for drawing his attention to this document.

<sup>21</sup> H Martin, 'An essay towards finding the balance of our whole trade annually from Christmas of 1698 to Christmas 1719' quoted in Harte (1973), 84.

states that ‘the general course of trade is nevertheless reasonably clear in broad outline’.<sup>22</sup> Thus, the records from the port books up until the embargo of 1678 are probably a reasonable guide to the overall trade but thereafter have to be treated with considerable circumspection, particularly with regard to the overall quantities of imports.

#### 4.4 TABLE LINEN IMPORTS FROM THE LOW COUNTRIES

Ideally, a study of the pattern of imports from the Low Countries should be structured around major events such as the Dutch Revolt, the Republic’s ‘Year of Disaster’ of 1672, and the War of Spanish Succession. Unfortunately, the different nature and rates of survival of customs records determine that the discussion is document driven and is initially bracketed within three periods: prior to the reform of the customs in 1565 using the few extant returns of ‘tunnage and poundage’ and Petty Customs accounts; between 1565 and 1697 using the London port books; and from 1698 until the middle of the eighteenth century using the restricted information in the Inspector General’s ledgers.

##### *a) Period from c.1450 to 1565 (Petty Customs accounts, etc)*

In considering the first period, in addition to the paucity of surviving documents, there is a major problem of nomenclature. It was at this time that the descriptions of figured table linens were in a state of flux. Thus linens with figured patterns that were woven on a drawloom, rather than a shaftloom, continued to be called diapers (rather than damasks) until the early sixteenth century (see Table 9.1).

Although earlier accounts contain plain table linen, the first where diaper is listed is the Petty Customs account of 1472-73.<sup>23</sup> That of 1480-81 lists a number of parcels of diaper tabling, towelling and napkins with an equivalent length of about 1,000 ‘yds’.<sup>24</sup> The Petty Customs accounts for 1494-5 and 1512-13 contains about 4,000 ‘yds’ and 10,000 ‘yds’ of diaper respectively.<sup>25</sup> The first occurrence of the description ‘damaske diaper’ occurs in the Tunnage and Poundage account for 1519-20. This account, which has about half its membranes missing, includes damask with an equivalent length of about 600 ‘yds’ and diaper of about 7,000 ‘yds’.<sup>26</sup> The port book of 1565 (for English Merchants), prepared in accordance with the re-ordering of the Customs in that year, has several parcels of both damask and diaper amounting to equivalent lengths of some 1,100 ‘yds’ and 1,800 ‘yds’ respectively.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>22</sup> Harte (1973), 85.

<sup>23</sup> PRO, E122/73/34, ‘vij tabill Clothis Diap.’ were consigned to ‘Benedict Spinula’.

<sup>24</sup> E122/194/25, published in Cobb (1990)\*. For equivalent length, see GENERAL NOTES.

<sup>25</sup> E122/79/5, and /82/2.

<sup>26</sup> E122/81/8, ‘ij peces damaske diap. vij dos damask diap. napkyns’ were consigned to ‘Johe Revill’ on 29 October 1519.

<sup>27</sup> E190/3/2.

Unfortunately, the records are too sparse to draw conclusions as to the pattern of importation but they do show significant shipments of diaper early in the sixteenth century and reflect the changing descriptions of figured linens found within the inventory sample.

*b) Period from 1565 to 1697 (London Port Books)*

As for the earlier part of the century, the years from 1565 until 1600 are ill-served with the survival of very few London port books (see Appendix B2). The situation is better during the seventeenth century although there is a complete absence of documents for the period of the Civil War and Commonwealth. An overview of imports of damask and diaper woven in either the Spanish Netherlands or the United Provinces is given in Fig. 4.1.<sup>28</sup> The quantities of 'Holland' damask and diaper imported by Merchant Strangers are shown above the horizontal division and below it, those for English Merchants. Four features are immediately apparent: firstly that the variation from one year to the next was greater than could be explained by changes in English demand; secondly, as might be expected in view of their price differential, the quantities of diaper imported were larger than those of damask; thirdly, there was an apparent decline in the overall quantities of imports of Low Countries diaper after the Restoration; and fourthly, that the quantities imported by Merchant Strangers, which before 1640 amounted to 30 or 40 per cent of the total imports of such linens, collapsed after 1660.

Damask napery woven at Kortrijk in Flanders and at Haarlem in Holland are not differentiated in the port books as they were both valued in the Books of Rates as 'of holland making'. None the less the ports of lading, in the context of contemporary political and military events, indicate the place of manufacture of damask imports. The proportions of 'Holland' damask imported into London according to the ports of lading for the period between 1600-1638 are shown on Fig. 4.2. Analyses of these results give valuable insights into the patterns of exports to England. These include the effects on the trade of Kortrijk and Haarlem of economic measures such as tariffs and embargoes, and of dislocation caused both by military operations within the Low Countries and naval activities in the Channel. As this thesis is concerned with table linen in England and not directly with the success or failure of damask weaving in Flanders and Holland, only a few cases will be discussed which illustrate particular features of the English trade.

For the twelve months from Michaelmas 1599 when England was at war with Spain, there were no shipments from any of the Flemish ports. Apart from single parcels from Amsterdam and Rotterdam, probably of Haarlem damask, the imports were split between Calais and the Zeeland ports of Middelburg and Flushing [Vlissingen] (Ill. 4.1). Damask

<sup>28</sup> N.B. Figures are grouped at the end of chapters, before any illustrations.

Figs 4.1 to 4.5, and 4.8 use data from the London Port books tabulated in Appendix B2.

shipped from Zeeland may have been woven in either Haarlem or Kortrijk. For Flanders linens, the decision to ship from Zeeland or from France was principally economic: whether to pay French tariffs from Calais or to pay tolls across the Schelde and export duties from the Zeeland ports. The corresponding proportions of Low Countries diaper for the same period are shown on Fig. 4.3. Although there are some similarities with the pattern for damask, the differences are striking. For example, in 1599-1600 there were no shipments from Calais, with most of the panels being laded in Zeeland.

In 1604 England made peace with Spain. Two years later the United Provinces and Spain began the lengthy negotiations that led eventually to the signing of the Twelve Years' Truce in April 1609. The Zeelanders were vociferously opposed to the Truce. Jonathan Israel in *Dutch Primacy in World Trade* recounts the views of the contemporary Dutch commentator, Willem Usselinx,

the rise of the Dutch entrepôt to supremacy was the fruit of a constellation of war-related circumstances, especially the Dutch blockade of the Scheldt and the Flemish seaports. Lift that blockade . . . and the South Netherlands, which excelled the North Netherlands in location, experience, and in the size and industriousness of its population, would revive from its present stagnation and resume its former primacy. House rents, the cost of living, and wage levels . . . were all much lower in Flanders and Brabant than in Holland, so that once the Dutch pressure was removed, Holland would stand little chance of competing successfully.<sup>29</sup>

Although Zeeland failed to forestall the Truce, it prevailed with the other provinces to prevent the Schelde being re-opened to ocean-going ships and thus succeeded in its desire to stop the renaissance of Antwerp as a major port. Nevertheless, the lifting of the blockade of the Flemish seaports largely nullified its effect: the Zeeland economy weakened as that of Brabant and Flanders revived. The regime in Brussels took positive action to encourage this revival, including advantageous tariffs and improvements to the canals linking the Flemish ports with Bruges, Ghent [Gent] and Antwerp; 'Consequently, the South Netherlands imports and exports by sea were directed, as from 1609 from Zeeland to the Flemish coast'.<sup>30</sup>

The pattern of diaper imports reflects this statement and confirms Usselinx's worst fears: in 1599-1600, 97 per cent of imports of Low Countries diaper had been shipped from Zeeland, but with the Truce most shipments were switched to Dunkirk and remained there for its duration. Although diaper imports behaved as might have been expected, the pattern for damasks was quite different. Although some damask shipments switched immediately to Dunkirk in 1609, about half were laded in Zeeland ports until 1613 (Fig. 4.2). In

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<sup>29</sup> Israel (1989B), 84.

<sup>30</sup> Israel (1989B), 113.

addition, significant quantities were shipped in certain years from the Holland ports. There are several possible explanations for this. The immediate response to the Truce in the pattern of diaper imports suggests that most of the diaper imported into London, both before and after the Truce, was woven in the southern Netherlands.<sup>31</sup> Conversely, the very different response of damask imports suggests that a significant proportion of these were woven in Holland. The damask weaver-entrepreneurs in Haarlem were successful during the early years of the seventeenth century in attracting large commissions from the States General and the Haarlem City Council. This patronage coupled with the quality of their products seems to have given them a market share in London that was only slowly eroded during the Truce, despite the apparent ability of Kortrijk to produce cheaper alternatives. As more than 60 per cent of damask was shipped from northern ports during the first years of the Truce, it is likely that much of the damask that had been shipped from the north in 1599-1600 was also woven in Holland.<sup>32</sup>

Only a minority of the Haarlem damasks bound for England were shipped from Amsterdam, for if the east wind was blowing it was a slow and lengthy business to clear the port and sail north through the Zuyder Zee, before setting sail to the south east bound for London.<sup>33</sup> Conversely, it was easy to clear the Zeeland ports, and the south Holland ports of Rotterdam and Dort, with the help of the east wind funnelled by the estuaries of the Schelde and the Maas. Goods from Haarlem were therefore often taken by inland waterways to these ports for the journey to England.

On the expiry of the Truce in April 1621, the Dutch resumed the blockade of the Flemish ports and reintroduced the 1603 wartime tariff list for calculating customs duties. For some commodities this gave large increases over the rate applying during the Truce: the duty on Flemish linen transhipped across the Schelde for export through the Zeeland ports increased by a factor of four-and-a-half. These events produced 'a sudden, violent transformation in the existing pattern of international trade'.<sup>34</sup> The transformation was reflected in the import figures for 1621 when both the quantities of diaper and damask shipped from the Flemish ports fell to about 10 per cent in that year from over 90 per cent in 1619 (Figs 4.2 & 4.3).

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31 Alternatively, it is possible that some of the diaper imported from the Zeeland ports before the Truce was not transhipped across the Schelde from the southern Netherlands, but was woven in the United Provinces. If this was the case, then the complete switch to the Flemish ports would suggest that supplies of diaper were readily available in Flanders and at a cheaper price than in the north.

Unfortunately, little is known of the distribution of the manufacture of diaper in the Low Countries.

32 At various periods, Flemish linen was taken north to be bleached in Haarlem. Southern immigrants in the late sixteenth century improved the process in Haarlem so that the whiteness of its products rivalled and then surpassed those bleached on the Lys in the vicinity of Kortrijk. Although, standard prices for bleaching particular linens in Haarlem date from 1579, it is only from 1649, that rates are found for both plain linens from Kortrijk, Roesselare and Gent and for '*Vlaamsch tafellakens and servetten*'; see Greup-Roldanus (1936), 319.

33 Lesger (1993), 197.

34 Israel (1982), 86.



The London port book that survives for 1621 is for Merchant Denizens. The principal consignee was William Courteene the Younger who imported nine parcels containing both damask and diaper (respectively 72 per cent and 80 per cent of total imports). The first consignment was on 29 December 1620 in the *Grace of Dunkirk* sailing from her home port. After a hiatus of five months, during which the Truce expired, his next consignment was on 2 June from Calais followed by four other consignments from Calais, two from Flushing and one from Amsterdam. In the following year, 1622, some 30 per cent of damask imports were laded in Flushing, whereas nearly all the diaper was shipped from Calais.

In 1624, the patterns of importation of damask and diaper were strikingly different. Despite the blockade, most of the diaper but only a half of the damask parcels were loaded in Dunkirk, with the other half of the damask shipped from Zeeland. In this year, ten ships docked in London with parcels of damask and diaper seemingly from southern ports, six of which were clearly stated to be from Dunkirk. Several of these voyages from Dunkirk were in the winter months. It was, of course, often difficult to keep the blockading ships on station during stormy winters in the North Sea, but in 1624 increased Spanish naval activity drew at least a part of the Dutch blockading force from the Flemish coast which seems to have enabled London ships to use Dunkirk throughout the year.<sup>35</sup>

In the summer of 1625, Isabella, Regent of the Spanish Netherlands, prohibited all trade with the 'rebels' by water or overland, closing the route from Kortrijk across the Schelde to Flushing. By the autumn of the same year, Spain was at war with England as well as the United Provinces. These changed circumstances resulted in all shipments of diaper and damask in 1626 being from Calais.<sup>36</sup> England was at war with Spain until 1630, but the Spanish lifted the ban on river traffic in April 1629 which allowed the resumption of the transshipment of goods across the Schelde. Unfortunately, the port book for 1630 is in poor condition but all the entries for shipments which were clearly laded in Flushing or Middelburg, date from after the lifting of the ban. None the less, the bulk was still shipped from Calais in either French or English ships. With peace between England and Spain, access to the Flemish ports was regained as illustrated in the results for 1633 and the following year. In May 1635, France allied herself with the United Provinces against Spain, and French and even Dutch warships began to harass neutral English ships trading with Flanders. In response convoys protected by English men-of-war were established to give safe passage, not only to English ships bound between London and the Flemish ports,

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35 For a general discussion of the difficulties of the blockade, see Geyl (1961), 121; and for details of naval activity in 1623 and 1624, see Israel (1982), 114.

36 In contrast to 1626, very little damask and diaper was shipped in 1627: at customs valuations £3,018 in 1626 and £269 in 1627.

but also those trading with the Iberian peninsula through the Dover Entrepôt.<sup>37</sup> The success of this system is illustrated by the proportion of shipments of table linen from the Flemish ports in 1636 and 1637.

No London port books have survived from the period of the Civil War and Commonwealth, but subsequently there is a reasonable series of both Merchant Denizen and Merchant Strangers books between 1672 and 1686. After the Restoration it was easier and cheaper to obtain an act of naturalisation. The leading merchant strangers took advantage of this and many were naturalised, their trade subsequently being entered in the Merchant Denizens books. Thus merchant strangers' trade declined greatly in both quantity and importance, and in consequence the quantities of fine table linen imported by them (see Fig. 4.1). In consequence, the patterns of importation of damask and diaper between 1660 and 1700 according to their ports of lading have been prepared solely from the Merchant Denizen port books (Figs 4.4 & 4.5).

Although the war clouds were gathering, January 1672 was one of the rare times in the seventeenth century when France, Spain, England and the United Provinces were all at peace. However, the situation for the damask weavers of Flanders had changed considerably since 1640: Kortrijk had been occupied by the French in 1667 and would remain so until the peace of Nijmegen in 1678, whereas Dunkirk, after considerable vicissitudes, had been annexed, as it turned out permanently, by France in 1662. The other Flemish ports of Ostend and Nieuport remained under Spanish control. Considerable improvements had been made to the canal system linking Antwerp, Ghent, Bruges and Ostend. (Indeed in the port books from 1671, Bruges and Ostend were often used interchangeably.) Unfortunately, war came quickly, for the end of March 1672 found England and France at war with the United Provinces, and Spain ostensibly neutral. Shipments of damask in 1672 to London were divided between Bruges/Ostend and Calais. Of the little damask shipped from Holland, one consignment was entered in London on 2 April in a vessel from Dort, which presumably sailed before war was declared.

In February 1674, Charles was forced by Parliament to make peace with the Dutch through the Second Treaty of Westminster. France withdrew her troops from most Dutch territory and turned her attention to the Spanish Netherlands, Spain having declared war on France the previous summer. Ypres and Ghent were captured in the spring of 1674. These French successes alarmed the government in London and English troops were sent to garrison Ostend. England's neutrality following the peace with the United Provinces transformed the balance of power at sea and 'French shipping, already heavily disrupted by the Dutch privateers, was now completely paralysed'.<sup>38</sup> Perhaps it was a result of this

37 For description of the operation of the Dover Entrepôt, see Kepler (1971)† and Kepler (1976). For shipments of napery to Spain, see Mitchell (1998C).

38 Israel (1989B), 300.

paralysis that only modest quantities of table linen were shipped to London from Calais or Dunkirk between January 1676 and August 1677. Although France was at war with Spain, there seems to have been little difficulty in taking goods from French-occupied to Spanish territory, as damask was exported from Kortrijk presumably by way of the Lys to Ghent, the New Canal to Bruges and Ostend and then in English ships to London.

The initial French successes in 1674 were followed by indecisive campaigns during the summer of 1675 and 1676, but the following year Valenciennes and Cambrai were taken and William of Orange was defeated at Cassell. It is likely that the French campaign in the southern Netherlands during 1677 resulted in the diversion of shipments from Ostend as the majority were made from Calais and Dunkirk between August of that year and the Treaty of Nijmegen a year later. Further, the number of shipments was much reduced, for in 1678 there were only ten voyages carrying damask and diaper from the southern Netherlands, half the number of the previous year and less than a third of those in 1672. Of these ten voyages, eight were made from the French ports between January and March 1678.

None the less, despite these difficulties there was not a significant increase in the imports of Dutch napery, possibly reflecting the economic chaos in Holland following the French invasion in 1672. With the conclusion of a comprehensive peace between France, the United Provinces and Spain in September 1678, Kortrijk was returned to Spain, although Menen remained in French hands. Colbert decided to create a linen damask manufacture there to rival Kortrijk. The scheme was a cause of great concern and bitter complaint, as the French market was denied to the Kortrijk weavers. Nevertheless, access could not be denied to the English market and although the quantities of damask shipped to London were very modest in the years immediately after Kortrijk's return to Spain, by 1685 they showed a threefold increase.<sup>39</sup> Indeed, imports of Low Countries damask possibly peaked at this time.<sup>40</sup>

Following the Glorious Revolution of 1688, the Nine Years' War broke out early in 1689 between France and the Grand Alliance, which included the United Provinces, England, Spain, the Holy Roman Emperor and several other states. Kortrijk was occupied by the French in October 1689 and remained in French hands until December 1697.<sup>41</sup> During this period, there was considerable military activity in Flanders. For example in 1696 a French army was encamped to the north of Kortrijk between the rivers Lys and Schelde, facing an

39 In 1680, an equivalent length of 4,300 'yds' of damask was imported from the Flemish ports; in 1685, 13,300 'yds' from the Flemish ports as well as 5,900 'yds' from Dunkirk.

40 In 1685, total Low Countries damask imports were in the order of 20,000 'yds'. In 1609, 12,800 'yds' were imported by Merchant Strangers but figures are not available for English Merchants. It is possible that the total was of a similar order to that of 1685. Of course, there are many years when no details of yearly imports are known (see Appendix B2).

41 Maddens (1990), 182.

Allied force in defensive positions running north from Nieuport to Ostend, and then east along the line of the canal to Bruges and on to Ghent.<sup>42</sup> Notwithstanding the many troop movements and major raids on the Allied positions on the Ghent-Bruges canal, the entrepreneurs in Kortrijk still managed to transport their goods to Bruges: eight parcels of damask, containing 442 yds tabling and 2,040 yds napkining, were laded there for London during the year. Despite the difficulties in the southern Netherlands, London merchants do not appear to have imported increased quantities of damasks from Haarlem, as the total laded in the Holland ports in 1696 was only half the quantity of 1686, before the outbreak of hostilities.<sup>43</sup>

c) *Period from 1697 to 1760 (Inspector General's Ledgers)*

The imports of table linen, listed in Appendix B3, between 1697 and 1769 have been taken from the Inspector General's ledgers.<sup>44</sup> Unlike the port books used for the analysis of imports prior to 1696, the ledgers do not give the ports of lading, the names of the consignees nor details of the carriers, although they note the quantities of 'Holland' damask and diaper shipped from Flanders, Holland and elsewhere. An overview of these total imports of 'Holland' napery landed in English ports, is given in Fig. 4.6.<sup>45</sup>

With the end of the Nine Years' War, Kortrijk was returned to Spain. In November 1701, the King of Spain, Carlos II, died, bequeathing his throne and all his dominions to Louis XIV's grandson, Philip of Anjou. The following February, a French army occupied the southern Netherlands. In response the English Government prohibited all trade with Spain, including the Spanish Netherlands. In the spring of 1702 the Allies including England, the United Provinces and the Emperor, declared war on France and Spain in support of the claim to the Spanish throne of the Archduke Charles. An English army was despatched to the Low Countries under John Churchill, Earl of Marlborough who became the 'de facto' commander-in-chief of the Allied forces.<sup>46</sup> Following a successful summer campaign the Queen conferred upon him a dukedom. After the victory at Blenheim in 1704, the *annus mirabilis* of 1706 saw the crushing defeat of the French and Bavarian forces at Ramillies, which was followed by much of Flanders, including Kortrijk, reverting to allied control.

During the prohibition of trade between 1701 and 1706, there were no imports of table linen from Flanders recorded in the ledgers. Most of the imports of damask were from Holland, although in 1703 about a quarter of the very large quantity that was imported was

42 Childs (1991), 302-324.

43 An equivalent length in 1696 of 466 'yds'. In 1686 the quantity had been 1,178 'yds'.

44 The London port books for this period were officially destroyed during the nineteenth century.

45 Figs 4.6, 4.7 & 4.9 use data from the Inspector General's ledgers tabulated in Appendix B3.

46 For discussion of his status, see Chandler (1973), 99.

recorded as coming from Germany.<sup>47</sup> The size of these shipments possibly resulted from increased demand arising from a combination of the tiny quantities imported during the previous three years and by Queen Anne's accession and coronation. In this connection, the quantity of damask table linen purchased for the royal household represented about a third of the total imports for 1703.<sup>48</sup>

From July 1706, the Spanish Netherlands were ruled by an Anglo-Dutch condominium in Brussels, 'in which the Dutch interest predominated, especially in the economic sphere'.<sup>49</sup> This arrangement lasted beyond the end of the war in 1713, only terminating in 1716 with the beginning of the Austrian administration of the southern Netherlands. During these ten years, Kortrijk was governed by a Scot, Robert Murray and garrisoned by his regiment.<sup>50</sup> Between the summer of 1706 and the Peace of Utrecht in the spring of 1713, damask shipments to London were small and mainly from Holland. This suggests that they were woven in Haarlem, which is difficult to reconcile with the number of different designs celebrating Allied victories that were woven during these years in Kortrijk (see Ill. 9.41).<sup>51</sup> They number in excess of fifty and include the major battles of Ramillies and Malplaquet, and several sieges, notably that of Lille [Rijsel].<sup>52</sup> About a third of the designs refer to Marlborough, often incorporating his equestrian figure and his arms.<sup>53</sup> They were presumably aimed at the English market and from the number of surviving examples in English collections and their regular appearance in London salerooms, must have been sold in some numbers.

It is possible that a few of these surviving pieces were imported in the personal baggage of officers serving with the army in the Low Countries and thus eluded the Customs records. Certainly the royal household purchased linen in this way. Luder Spiesmaker, part of William III's riding household, regularly bought damask and diaper in Holland between 1695 and 1700. Early in Queen Anne's reign other purchases were made from Mr Cortebrand and Ann Coster, apparently in Rotterdam.<sup>54</sup> Superfine table linen was bought

47 Described as 'Damask Napkening or Tabling Holland' and valued at the same rates as imports from Holland.

48 Between August 1702 and September 1703, 967 yds damask tabling and 3,384 yds napkinning was bought from Matthias Cupper, the Royal linen draper in London, and from Mr Cortebrand, probably in Rotterdam: i.e. equivalent length 6,285 'yds' (PRO LS1/46, LS8/40 and LS8/41): cf. total 1703 imports of Low Countries damask of 19,770 'yds' (Appendix B3).

49 Israel (1995), 973.

50 Maddens (1990), 188.

51 For examples, see Pauwels & De Jaegere (1986) nos 110-125, 127-141, 143-147.

52 There do not appear to be any designs celebrating the victory at Blenheim which occurred when Kortrijk was in French hands and the weavers were producing linens of French successes, such as the siege of Landau in 1703.

53 In contrast to the many Kortrijk designs, very few commemorative designs of the War of Spanish Succession were woven in Haarlem.

54 For Spiesmaker's purchases see LS8/32, 16; LS8/34, 163; LS8/35, 22; LS8/36, 59 & 70v; LS8/37, 101v; LS8/38, 119. His total expenditure on purchases of linen during these years was about £1,100. For Cortebrand and Coster, see LS8/41, 102. Bill for Cortebrand includes an item 'for bleaching ye Linnen and freight to Harlaem and back'.

'by ye Queen's order by Coll. Godfrey in Flanders in December 1713'.<sup>55</sup> This was a bespoke order, presumably placed in Kortrijk, for after the Queen's death another purchase was made through Colonel Godfrey which was described as 'Superfine Damask Linnen bought by the late Queens Order with Her said Mat<sup>s</sup> Cypher in the Corners paid for in December 1714'.<sup>56</sup> It seems that royal officers also purchased linen in the Low Countries on behalf of others, for Spiesmaker records purchases from Mr John van Leeuwen of Rotterdam for 'Sir Willm Forester' and 'My L<sup>d</sup> Guilford'.<sup>57</sup>

With peace in 1713, the overall quantities of damask imports increased and there was a strikingly higher proportion of damask imported from Holland than had been the case during the seventeenth century. This is at odds with the comparatively few examples of Haarlem damask from this period in English collections and the realisation that the royal household, the major purchaser of Low Countries damask in England, apparently ordered its superfine damask in Kortrijk. This is intimated both by Colonel Godfrey's purchases for Queen Anne in Flanders and by the surviving napkins and tablecloth with the arms and ciphers of George I. These, which date from about 1718, have very typical Kortrijk borders (see Ill. 9.50).<sup>58</sup> Thus the high proportion of damask imported from Holland suggests that much Kortrijk damask was first sent to Haarlem to be bleached and then shipped to London from Dutch ports.<sup>59</sup> The bleaching of Flemish linens in Holland was certainly perceived by contemporaries as a problem for the economy of the southern Netherlands. During the short period of peace between the end of the Nine Years' War in 1697 and the outbreak of the War of Spanish Succession in 1702, the southern provinces rebelled against their economic subjection to the Dutch. Under the Comte de Bergeyck, the Council in Brussels formulated a package of measures in 1699 which included the promotion of the bleaching of unfinished Flemish linens within the southern Netherlands.<sup>60</sup> These measures were overtaken by the French occupation in 1701 and by the Anglo-Dutch condominium between 1706 and 1716. During the condominium and the years immediately afterwards, the proportion of damask shipped from Holland was often more than half the total (Fig. 4.7).

<sup>55</sup> LS1/56, included in the Charge of table linen.

<sup>56</sup> LS1/59, included in the Charge of table linen.

<sup>57</sup> LS13/79 'Luder Spiesmaker's Book of Active and Passive Debts since the Yeare 1701 etc', 93 Forrester, 114 Guilford.

LS13/80 'Accounts of the Voyages to Holland Etc' has purchases of 6 dozen damask napkins for Charles Scarburgh Esq (20 October 1714) and of napkins and sheets for Mr. Scarb. & Roper (October 1714, bought at the Hague).

<sup>58</sup> An example sold at Christie's, South Kensington on 15.6.1982, Lot 48 is now in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (1982-88). Three napkins of the same design and an *en suite* tablecloth were purchased in London during 1995 by Historic Royal Palaces (Hampton Court).

<sup>59</sup> The bleaching of Flemish linens in Haarlem is discussed by several authors but few details of quantities or types of linen bleached in particular periods are given. See Sabbe (1975), II, 42-50 and Greup-Roldanus (1936).

<sup>60</sup> Israel (1989B), 360.

From the Peace of Utrecht in 1713 until 1737 damask imports from the Low Countries had a mean equivalent length of some 4,900 'yds'.<sup>61</sup> During the same period the royal household purchased a mean equivalent length of some 1,700 'yds' representing more than a third of the total.<sup>62</sup> In 1737, a decision was made to buy all future supplies of damask and diaper for the royal household from Ireland, instead of from the Low Countries. This was reported in a notice that appeared in the *Dublin Evening Post*, 23-26 July 1737,

His Grace the Duke of Dorset, our late Lord Lieutenant, & now Steward of his Majesty's Household, to shew his regard for the Interests & Welfare of this Kingdom, hath recommended to their Majesties the use of Irish Linen; & we hear that his Grace has sent Directions to this Kingdom, for the making of great Quantities of Table Cloths & Napkins, with their Majesties Arms in the Middle & and in the Corners.<sup>63</sup>

Clearly other customers followed the royal example as the imports of both damask and diaper from the Low Countries collapsed, never to recover (Fig. 4.6).

#### 4.5 IMPORTS OF SLETIA DIAPER AND DAMASK

In the English Merchants [Denizens] port books for 1588 and 1589 there were parcels of linen imported from Stade which included 'course counterfett diaper for napkins', and 'broade diaper for tabling'.<sup>64</sup> The narrow diaper was valued at 6d. per ell and the broad at 16d per ell. The use of the term 'counterfett', the port of lading, and the valuations all indicate that these parcels contained the figured linens, that were subsequently classified in the 1604 Book of Rates as 'Tabling', and 'Towelling & Napking Sletia making', and valued at 18d. per yd and 6d. per yd respectively. Despite diaper and damask being woven in Saxony, as well as Silesia and subsequently in other parts of the German lands, it was generally referred to in English documents as 'Sletia', although 'Silesia' and 'Sleasie' were sometimes used.<sup>65</sup>

By 1609 the imports of Sletia diaper were significant: the Merchant Strangers port book includes parcels with equivalent lengths totalling 39,200 'yds' in comparison with Low Countries diaper totalling 23,400 'yds' (see Fig. 4.8 and Appendices B4 & B2). Over the next ten years, although there were marked variations from one year to the next, the mean

<sup>61</sup> For the 24 years, 1714-1737, total equivalent length was 116,970 'yds', i.e. mean of 4,874 'yds'.

<sup>62</sup> For the 24 years, 1714-1737, total equivalent length was 40,719 'yds', i.e. mean of 1,697 'yds'.

<sup>63</sup> The author is grateful to the late Ada Longfield for bringing this document to his attention.

<sup>64</sup> E190/8/1, 60v; E190/8/4, 38v. Between 1587 and 1598, Stade and Middelburg were the staple ports of the Merchant Adventurers.

<sup>65</sup> The port books invariably used the Book of Rates description 'Sletia'. The inventory record shows more variety, e.g. 1672 DAWES, 'Silesia Linnen 12 tablecloths 14 dozen napkins' and 1676 WHEAKE, 3 doz. 'Sleazy Diaper napkins.'

quantities of Sletia diaper were 25 per cent greater than those of Low Countries diaper.<sup>66</sup> With the outbreak of the Thirty Years' War in 1618, Sletia diaper imports fell behind those from the Low Countries, despite the reduction in the mean quantities of Low Countries diaper owing to the renewal of hostilities between the United Provinces and Spain in 1621. Unfortunately there is only one year, 1633, during the first half of the century when both the Strangers and Denizens port books survive, so the total quantities of Sletia diaper imports remain unclear. A rough approximation can be obtained by the addition of the mean annual values of the Strangers and Denizens imports. For the years between 1619 and 1648 these total 47,000 'yds' of Sletia and 57,000 'yds' of Low Countries diaper.<sup>67</sup>

It seems that the potential for the expansion of the production of table linen in Saxony and Silesia was hamstrung by the Thirty Years War, as after its conclusion there was a very dramatic increase in Sletia diaper imports, both in actual quantity and in comparison with imports of diaper from the Low Countries. For the eleven years between 1672 and 1696 when both Strangers and Denizens port books survive, the mean annual quantity of Sletia diaper imported into London was 324,000 'yds' compared with 24,000 'yds' of Low Countries diaper. At the same time there was a similar 'take-off' in the imports of Sletia damask. During the first half of the seventeenth century a few small parcels had been imported, the earliest port book record being in 1611.<sup>68</sup> The quantities remained small in the first years after the Restoration but in 1677, 3,000 'yds' were imported. Subsequently there was a remarkable increase, with 81,000 'yds' of Sletia damask in 1696 (Fig. 4.8) which was twenty times the quantity of 'Holland' damask imported in the same year.

For the first years of the eighteenth century, the Inspector General's ledgers indicate that Sletia damask and diaper imports continued at similar levels (Appendix B5) but in 1706 during the Great Northern War, Charles XII of Sweden marched across Silesia into Saxony. D W Jones notes that,

From 1706 onwards German linen imports fell, so that by 1708-11 they stood some 23 per cent lower than in 1702-4. The explanation for this is probably to be found in the effects of the military operations which were increasingly to hit the great Silesian and Saxon centres of production from 1704 onwards.<sup>69</sup>

66 Merchant Strangers port books survive for 8 of these 10 years, but two are for 6-month periods:

Imports of Sletia diaper 161,669 ÷ 7 = annual mean of 23,096 'yds'

Imports of Low Countries diaper 128,644 ÷ 7 = annual mean of 18,378 'yds'

67 Between 1619 and 1648, twelve Merchant Stranger port books survive, with one being for a 6-month period:

Imports of Sletia diaper 66,597 ÷ 11.5 = annual mean of 5,790 'yds'

Imports of Low Countries diaper 158,469 ÷ 11.5 = annual mean of 13,780 'yds'

For the same period, seven Merchant Denizen port books survive, with one being for a 6-month period:

Imports of Sletia diaper 266,192 ÷ 6.5 = annual mean of 40,950 'yds'

Imports of Low Countries diaper 279,113 ÷ 6.5 = annual mean of 42,940 'yds'

68 E190/16/5, 37 yds Sletia damask tabling, 75 yds napkin.

69 Jones (1988), 182.



For the same years Sletia diaper and damask imports stood some 48 per cent lower. This supports the explanation posited by Jones, for whereas most German figured table linen was woven in Silesia and Saxony, the overall imports of German linen included many plain linens which were woven in provinces to the west less affected by the war, such as Westphalia, Munster and Osnabruck. These events seem to have been a watershed: prior to 1706 some 20 per cent of the figured table linen imported from Germany was of damask, whereas after this time it more than doubled (Table 4.4). This signal increase coincided with an observable change in weaving structure of the better quality damasks to satin of 8 from satin of 5, and the use of finer and more regularly spun thread.<sup>70</sup>

TABLE 4.4 PROPORTION OF SLETIA DAMASK IMPORTS, 1697-1760<sup>a</sup>  
Five-year means of equivalent length in '000s 'yds'

PERIOD	SLETIA DIAPER	SLETIA DAMASK	TOTAL	SLETIA DAMASK
	'000s 'yds'	'000s 'yds'	'000s 'yds'	%
1697-1700 <sup>b</sup>	257	77	334	23
1701-1705 <sup>c</sup>	375	101	476	21
1706-1710	150	90	240	38
1711-1715 <sup>d</sup>	151	102	253	40
1716-1720	198	176	374	47
1721-1725	146	103	249	41
1726-1730	231	156	387	40
1731-1735	212	161	373	43
1736-1740	260	177	437	41
1741-1745	186	134	320	42
1746-1750	244	205	449	46
1751-1755	181	158	339	47
1756-1760	192	154	346	45

*Notes*

- a Prepared from PRO, CUST.3. Inspector General's ledgers.
- b 4 years, ledgers start at Michaelmas 1696. Changes to Christmas in 1700.
- c 4 years, ledger for 1705 missing.
- d 4 years, ledger for 1712 missing.

In terms of overall quantities of table linen, the recovery was rather patchy, although by 1736 it was back to the levels of 1683 and 1704 (Figs 4.8 and 4.9). The two Silesian Wars between 1740 and 1745, which resulted in the annexation of the Duchy of Silesia by Prussia, severely hampered the linen industry. Frederick the Great subsequently encouraged it by 'state subsidies and by regulations to improve quality'.<sup>71</sup>

<sup>70</sup> Compare Ills 2.8 & 9.43 with Ills 9.52 & 9.53.

<sup>71</sup> Hubatsch (1973), 83.

#### 4.6 IMPORTS OF FRENCH DIAPER AND DAMASK

Very little French damask was imported into England.<sup>72</sup> In contrast, quantities of French diaper were recorded in the port books from 1662 until the embargo on French linens, imposed in 1678. On lifting the restrictions in 1685, the trade resumed. During the 1670s the quantities of French diaper were about a seventh of Sletia diaper imports but of a similar order to those from the Low Countries.<sup>73</sup> This is significant, for although French diaper was rated as 'of the goodness of Sletia', it seems that in quality it compared with the Low Countries rather than the German cloth. According to one observer in 1696,

There is one sort more of this Diaper that is of the same figure, of the *French* - Diaper, and is so like, that few people can hardly know it from the right [*Holland*- Diaper], unless it were compared together.<sup>74</sup>

In this connection Marguerite Prinnet attributes to Caen three diaper samples from *Les Echantillons Richelieu* (a series of sample books made up between 1732-36).<sup>75</sup> Two of these appear to be of a similar quality to contemporary Low Countries diaper.

French diaper was generally shipped from Caen or Rouen with occasional parcels from Dieppe, St Malo and St Valéry-en-Caux. After the embargo in 1678, Sletia diaper began to be shipped for the first time from Rotterdam in considerable quantities (Table 4.5). Some of the ships entered with these parcels also carried commodities previously shipped from Normandy, particularly paper but also cider and 'Bon Chrétien' pears.<sup>76</sup>

<sup>72</sup> E190/18/6, 66v. Parcel shipped from Rouen 8.7.1615 described as 'Damask' and valued at 'Holland' rates.

E190/56/1, 4v. Parcel from Rouen 2.1.1671/2 described as 'Damask of ye goodness of Sletia' and valued using 'Sletia' rates.

E190/64/1, 123v. Parcel from Caen 16.3.1675/6 described and valued as 'Damask . . . of Sletia'.

<sup>73</sup> For the three years before the imposition of the embargo which have both Denizens and Strangers port books (1672, 1676 and 1677), the mean quantities imported in 'yds' were:

French diaper	41,600 'yds'
Sletia diaper	288,300 "
Low Countries diaper	25,500 "

<sup>74</sup> J.F. (1696)\*, 11-12.

<sup>75</sup> Prinnet (1982), 145, figs 97-99.

<sup>76</sup> E190/131/1, 23 February 1684, No. 15 includes 'ijc boon Critton peares xijcj terce Syder'.

TABLE 4.5 'SLETIA' DIAPER SHIPPED FROM ROTTERDAM BY MERCHANT DENIZENS 1671-1696

YEAR	FRENCH DIAPER SHIPPED FROM FRENCH PORTS	'SLETIA' DIAPER SHIPPED FROM ROTTERDAM
	Equivalent length 'yds'	Equivalent length 'yds'
1671-72	23,900	-
1675-76	47,300	-
1676-77	51,500	-
1677-78	25,700 <sup>a</sup>	-
1679-80	French	
1680-81	linen	7,600
1681-82	imports	51,100
1682-83 <sup>b</sup>	banned	41,400
	1678-85	82,000
1684-85	47,600 <sup>c</sup>	23,600 <sup>d</sup>
1685-86 <sup>e</sup>	29,800	200
1695-96	-	800

*Notes*

- a Last shipment in May 1678.  
b Incomplete - finished 6 December 1683.  
c Shipments start in July 1685.  
d 99.8% shipped before end of May 1685.  
e Incomplete - 93 days missing: total adjusted *pro rata*.

Apart from the timing of Rotterdam's enthusiasm for Sletia diaper coinciding with the embargo and the inclusion within the cargoes of typically French commodities, there is further circumstantial evidence for the supposition that most, if not all, of the 'Sletia' diaper recorded as laded in Rotterdam, was in fact woven in France, rather than in Germany. The quantities of French diaper shipped to London in 1676 and 1677 were of the same order as the 'Sletia' diaper from Rotterdam during the embargo and James Croskeys, a ship's master who had carried some 30 per cent of the French diaper imported from Caen in 1677, shipped a similar proportion of 'Sletia' diaper from Rotterdam in both 1682 and 1683.<sup>77</sup> It is questionable whether these cargoes were shipped directly from Normandy and incorrectly entered in the port books by corrupt officials, or if the ships called at Rotterdam *en route* to collect the requisite documents to mislead the customs in London. There are two inconsistent entries in the port book for 1682 that suggest direct sailings from Normandy. On 17 October there was a consignment of Sletia diaper to 'John Smith in Ja. Croskeys a rott<sup>d</sup>'. A few days later on 24 October a personal consignment of three hundred paving stones was recorded to 'Ja. Croskeys nave sua a Caen'.<sup>78</sup>

77 James Croskeys carried 32% (16,000 'yds') of French diaper imports from Caen in 1677, 41% [16,000 'yds'] from Rotterdam in 1682, and 26% (22,000 'yds') from Rotterdam in 1678. After the lifting of the embargo he is again recorded as sailing from Caen, e.g. E190/143/1, 16 March 1686, 159, No. 129.

78 E190/116/1, 483v & 490.

#### 4.7 OTHER IMPORTS OF DIAPER AND DAMASK

Small quantities of damask and diaper were imported during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries from Portugal, Spain, Italy, Sweden, Guernsey, Jersey and Poland with modest quantities from Scotland, Ireland and Russia.<sup>79</sup> Imports from Scotland were entered in the English customs records until the Union of the Parliaments in 1707. The first entry of Scottish damask in the London port books is a parcel for the Earl of Moray in September 1683.<sup>80</sup> From that year until 1707 the annual quantities were small. Larger parcels of Scottish diaper were imported regularly from 1672 and in 1698 totalled some 6,000 'yds'. The Inspector General's ledgers then record about 2,000 'yds' per annum until the entries cease. Thereafter, it is very difficult to assess the quantities of Scottish napery being sent to England. Although it seems that little damask was made specifically for the English market, the annual quantities of diaper and damask recorded by the Scottish Linen Board were considerable, ranging between 61,000 yds and 216,000 yds during the period between 1728 and 1754.<sup>81</sup> Presumably much of this was diaper of which a significant proportion may have been sent south for sale.<sup>82</sup>

Irish imports around 1700 were similar to Scottish, being very modest in scale compared with the quantities of napery shipped from the Continent. There were five parcels of Irish diaper, two from Cork and three from Dublin recorded in 1686.<sup>83</sup> Subsequently the records are sparse, including those in the Inspector General's ledgers which recorded 6,700 'yds' in 1717 but very little, if any, in other years. The ledgers of 'Irish Exports and Imports' simply list exports of 'linen cloth' without differentiating between the various types.<sup>84</sup> Although it is clear from inventories that Irish diaper was available in London in the early eighteenth century, its place in the market is very difficult to assess.<sup>85</sup> None the

79 There were a number of parcels of Portuguese diaper imported both from the 'Western Islands', now the Azores (Terceira, 15.3.1668) and the mainland (Oporto 22.10.1680 and Lisbon 3.6.1676). The linen was variously rated at both less than and greater than the rates for Sletia diaper. Limited parcels of diaper, all rated 'of the goodness of Sletia' were shipped from Elbing (first parcel 15.1.1620), Danzig (12.7.1676), Riga (12.10.1676) and Konigsberg (17.12.1677). It is unclear where the linen was woven.

80 E190/121/1, 12 September, No. 22.

81 Campbell (1964)\*.

82 There are few references in the inventory sample to Scottish diaper or damask. Not surprisingly, the great Scottish nobleman, the Duke of Lauderdale had Scottish diaper amongst his linen at Ham House, 1679 LAUDERDALE: 'Two table cloathes of Kincardine', 'Foure dozen of napkins, wch came from Sr. Willm. Bining out of Scotland'.

83 E190/143/1, first entry from Dublin 25 February 1686, No. 35. Valued as 'of the Goodness of Siletia'.

84 CUST 15. Ledgers of Irish Exports and Imports. For comments on Irish linen exports, see Cullen (1968), 59-66.

85 Irish damask in 1699 DRAKE and diaper in 1706 PARKER, 1713 OSSULTON, 1714 COCKE, 1723 SHERMAN.

less, it seems that Irish damask and diaper provided stiff competition for Low Countries products after the decision in 1737 to order future supplies of napery for the royal household from Ireland.

Although fine linen damask was woven in Russia in the early eighteenth century following the development of the trade using Dutch expertise, none appears to have been exported to England. However, small parcels of Russian diaper rated as 'of the goodness of Sletia' were imported in the late seventeenth century.<sup>86</sup> This situation was transformed in 1708 when 58,000 yds of diaper napkinning was imported.<sup>87</sup> Thereafter, large quantities were shipped of a similar order to those of Sletia diaper (Table 4.6).

TABLE 4.6 TEN YEAR ANNUAL MEANS OF IMPORTS  
OF RUSSIAN DIAPER, 1710-1759<sup>a</sup>

PERIOD	QUANTITY IN 'YDS' <sup>b</sup>
1710-19	155,000
1720-29	143,000
1730-39	172,000
1740-49	113,000
1750-59	362,000

*Notes*

- a Prepared from PRO, CUST.3, Inspector General's ledgers.
- b Until the 1740s Russian diaper is simply described and listed in yds. Thereafter some is described as 'tabling' and other as 'broad'. The width of this material is not entirely clear but an equivalent length has been calculated by multiplying the broad diaper lengths by two and adding it to the narrow lengths.

Although some of this material was similar in width and value to Sletia diaper, much of it was narrow, being less than half an English ell in width (22½ ins or 57 cm). It was generally valued at 4d per yd compared to 6d per yd for Sletia diaper napkinning. It is rarely listed in inventories and although some of the material may have been used for napkins, much was probably used either for clouting or kitchen cloths.<sup>88</sup>

<sup>86</sup> E190/93/1, 17 November 1680, No. 31.

<sup>87</sup> CUST 3/11.

<sup>88</sup> In wealthier families, clouting for young children was often of damask or diaper, e.g. 1701 FOCHE, 18 damask clouts, 4 doz 7 diaper clouts; 1723 SHERMAN, 8 pieces clouting diapers at 8s 6d each. Refer to Kevill-Davies (1991), 100 & 163.

#### 4.8 TRANSHIPMENTS AND RE-EXPORTS

Between 1622 and 1651 an international entrepôt operated at Dover for the transshipment of goods chiefly between the Spanish Netherlands and the Iberian peninsula. The operation of the entrepôt is discussed by J.S. Kepler in both his doctoral thesis and subsequent monograph.<sup>89</sup> Shipments of table linen from Kortrijk are recorded both in the Dover port books and in the '*Register van passeporten*' in Kortrijk.<sup>90</sup> An analysis of these shipments gives no direct insights into the trade with England, yet it indicates the relative importance of the Spanish and English markets to the weavers in Kortrijk, for in 1633 double the quantity of damask was shipped to Spain as to London.<sup>91</sup>

From the late seventeenth century, some of the table linen brought into the Port of London was re-exported, principally to the West Indies and the American Colonies. It was the cheaper qualities that were sent, notably Sletia and Russian diaper (Appendix B6). The proportion of these shipments relative to overall imports is difficult to gauge from the London port books which rarely indicate re-exports, but from 1696, the Inspector General's ledgers provide a detailed picture (Table 4.7).<sup>92</sup>

TABLE 4.7 TABLE LINEN RE-EXPORTED AS A PROPORTION OF THE IMPORTS OF PARTICULAR FABRICS, 1700-1750<sup>a</sup>

YEAR	SLETIA DAMASK %	SLETIA DIAPER %	RUSSIAN DIAPER %	COMBINED PROPORTION %
1700 <sup>b</sup>	9 <sup>d</sup>	8	-	9
1706 <sup>c</sup>	6	13	-	10
1710	5	11	12	8
1715	6	28	20	18
1720	2	9	2	4
1725	5	23	-	13
1730	11	18	13	14
1735	12	18	10	15
1740	8	24	17	16
1745	9	22	20	15
1750	8	27	5	13

*Notes:*

- a Proportion by value, as given in the Inspector General's ledgers CUST.3. Holland damask and diaper re-exports were small and have been ignored.
- b Michaelmas 1699 to Michaelmas 1700. All other years are Christmas to Christmas, although the year changed at Lady Day (25 March). Table follows modern usage with year changing on 1 January.
- c Ledger for 1705 is missing.
- d Percentages given to nearest whole number.

<sup>89</sup> Kepler (1971)<sup>†</sup> and Kepler (1976).

<sup>90</sup> Kortrijk, Rijksarchief, OSAK 620, '*Register van passeporten van goederen ghesondon van Cortryck nae spaengnen . . .*' [Register of certificates of goods sent from Kortrijk to Spain], dated 14 March 1632.

<sup>91</sup> See Mitchell (1998C).

<sup>92</sup> An exception is E190/148/6, probably for 1685. An equivalent length of 12,657 'yds' of Sletia diaper (3.8% of Sletia diaper imports) was re-exported and about 370 'yds' of Sletia damask (2.4% of Sletia damask imports).



## 4.9 CONCLUSIONS

It is difficult to gain an overall picture of the imports of figured table linen owing to the fragmentary survival of the customs records. None the less, a crude outline can be seen by adding the mean values of the quantities of damask and diaper imported by English merchants and merchant strangers during the seventeenth century and simple mean values of the Inspector General's summaries during the eighteenth century.

TABLE 4.8 MEAN VALUES OF QUANTITIES OF TABLE LINEN IMPORTED 1600-1750<sup>a</sup>  
(In equivalent lengths of thousands of 'yards')

PERIOD	'HOLLAND' DAMASK	'HOLLAND' DIAPER	SLETIA DAMASK	SLETIA DIAPER	FRENCH DIAPER	SUB-TOTAL
1600-1640	10	58	1	52	-	121
1662-1697	8	24	25	304	43	404
1700-1724	4	16	114	202	-	336
1725-1750	3	10	181	229	-	423

### Notes

a From Appendices B2 to B6.

In terms of the overall quantities of napery imported into England, there was a striking threefold increase between the years before the Civil War and the post-Restoration period (Table 4.8). This cannot be explained by population growth but perhaps by larger family holdings and/or a wider ownership of fine napery. (These questions are explored in Chapter 7). Subsequently, by the first quarter of the eighteenth century, there was an apparent drop in imports. Clearly the War of Spanish Succession had an impact upon trade but there were other factors. Owing to the embargo, French diaper was not listed among the imports in the Inspector General's ledgers, although contemporary commentators maintained that very large quantities were smuggled into the country. Russian diaper was imported legally in large quantities and although most was narrow and probably used for clouting and kitchen cloths, a small proportion was of tabling and napkining. In contrast, Irish damask and diaper, and probably Scottish diaper, became increasingly important players in the English market for good and middle quality table linen. Possibly the most important factor in moderating the scale of imports of napery was, however, the growth in the production of huckaback or 'English diaper' in Lancashire and Yorkshire. Although little is known of the scale of this production, the inventory record bears witness to its significance. Between 1700 and 1750, about 60 per cent of the Orphans' Court inventories in the sample contained huckaback, often in large quantities.<sup>93</sup> The growth in the production of table linen in various parts of the British Isles, coupled with smuggled French diaper suggests that the overall quantities of figured table linens probably continued to increase throughout the period until 1750.

<sup>93</sup> Period 1675 to 1699: 33 inventories list details of napery, 3 include huckaback (9%).  
Period 1700 to 1724: 45 inventories list details of napery, 27 include huckaback (60%).  
Period 1725 to 1749: 44 inventories list details of napery, 26 include huckaback (59%).  
1701 FOCHE, 14 towels and 5 doz. napkins, etc; 1705 LEVETT, 28 tablecloths and 10½ doz. napkins.

Despite the overall increase in consumption, imports of the finest damasks and diapers from Flanders and Holland showed a steady decline. The apparent reduction in the quantities of damask in the seventeenth century may lie within the margin of error of the calculations, although there is no doubting the collapse in the eighteenth century. This was partly the success of Irish competition but in addition the marked improvement in the quality of German damasks from about 1710. Indeed, even in the second half of the eighteenth century, the English nobility commissioned personalised designs in Germany, as well as Ireland, and continued to purchase the fine stock patterns being woven by that time in Saxony and Silesia.<sup>94</sup>

During the seventeenth century, most of the 'Holland' diaper imported into England was woven in the Spanish Netherlands rather than the United Provinces, apparently owing to its competitive price. On occasion, when the military or political situation precluded shipments from the southern ports, diaper was laded in the Dutch ports. However, this diaper had not necessarily been woven in the United Provinces, for it seems much had been transhipped from Flanders and Brabant across the Schelde, paying Dutch tolls before its onward journey across the North Sea.

The pattern of imports of 'Holland' damask, however, was more complicated. The reactions to the start of the Twelve Years' Truce in 1609 indicate that some 60 per cent of the damask being imported into London at that time had been woven in Haarlem. With the signing of the Truce, all diaper imports switched immediately to the southern Netherlands but it took several years for Haarlem's market share in linen damasks to be eroded by the cheaper products of Kortrijk. For example, at the expiry of the Truce in 1621, Haarlem's share had dropped to about 30 per cent where it remained for the next ten years; thereafter declining further, rarely topping 10 per cent during the remainder of the century. It appears that economic dislocation in the Spanish Netherlands following the Dutch Revolt together with the war between England and Spain that waged between 1585 and 1604, gave the Haarlem weavers a competitive advantage. They took advantage of these opportunities and the elegant commissions produced by Lammertijn for James I, the Prince of Wales and other patrons, established the reputation of Dutch damask in England. The efforts of the Archdukes in stabilising the economy in Flanders, coupled with the Twelve Years Truce, enabled the Kortrijk weavers to regain much of the English trade in damask napery which they ultimately lost, not to competition from Holland, but from Saxony and Ireland.

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<sup>94</sup> London, Christie's S.Ken., 14.11.89, Lot 307, Lascelles napkin, c.1760.  
London, Phillips, 19.9.95, Lots 252, 254 & 257, German stock designs 1750-80 belonging to the Earls of Shrewsbury.

FIG. 4.1. IMPORTS OF LOW COUNTRIES DAMASK AND DIAPER INTO THE PORT OF LONDON 1600 TO 1700

Equivalent  
length in  
'000s yards

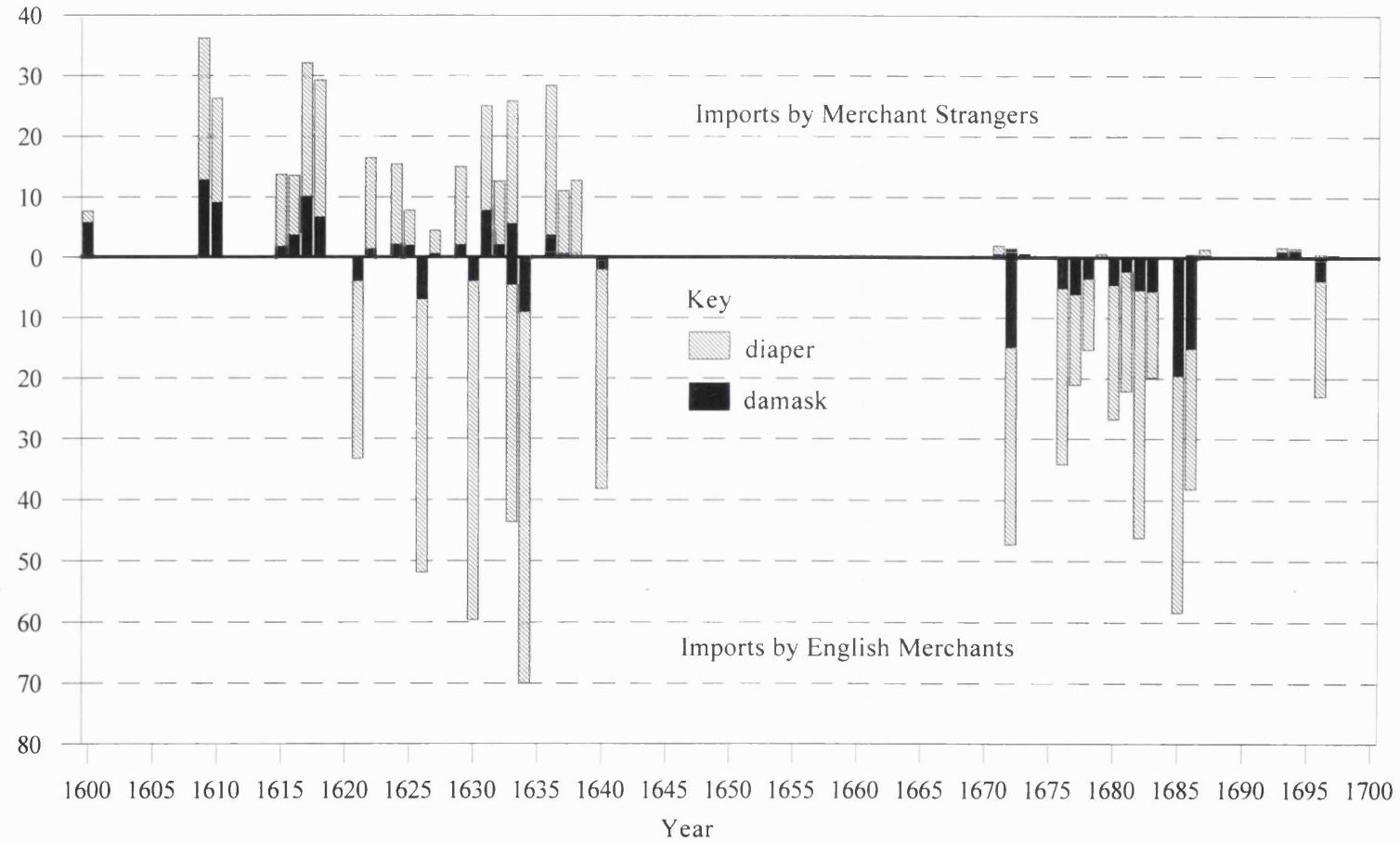
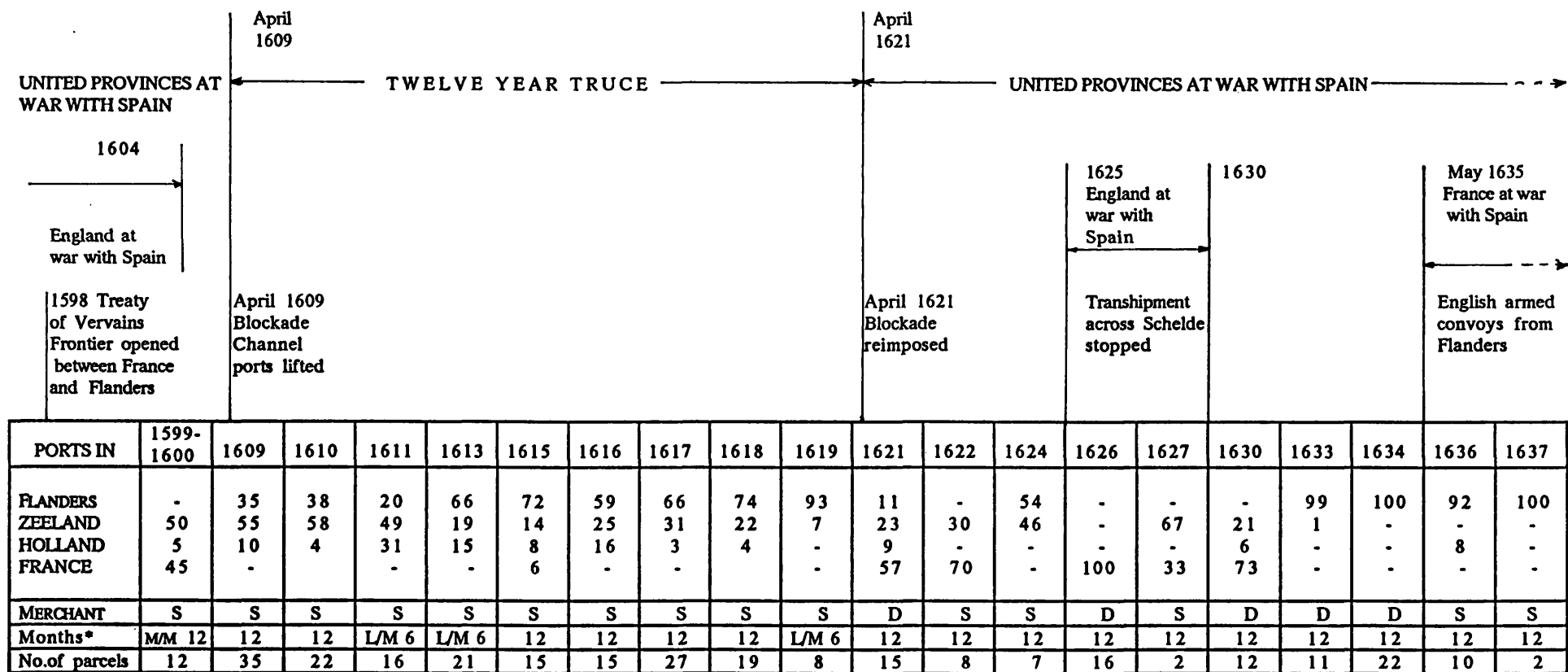


FIG. 4.2 PORTS OF LADING OF LOW COUNTRIES DAMASK IMPORTS 1600-1640  
(Proportions as percentages of total quantity shipped into London)

MAJOR POLITICAL EVENTS

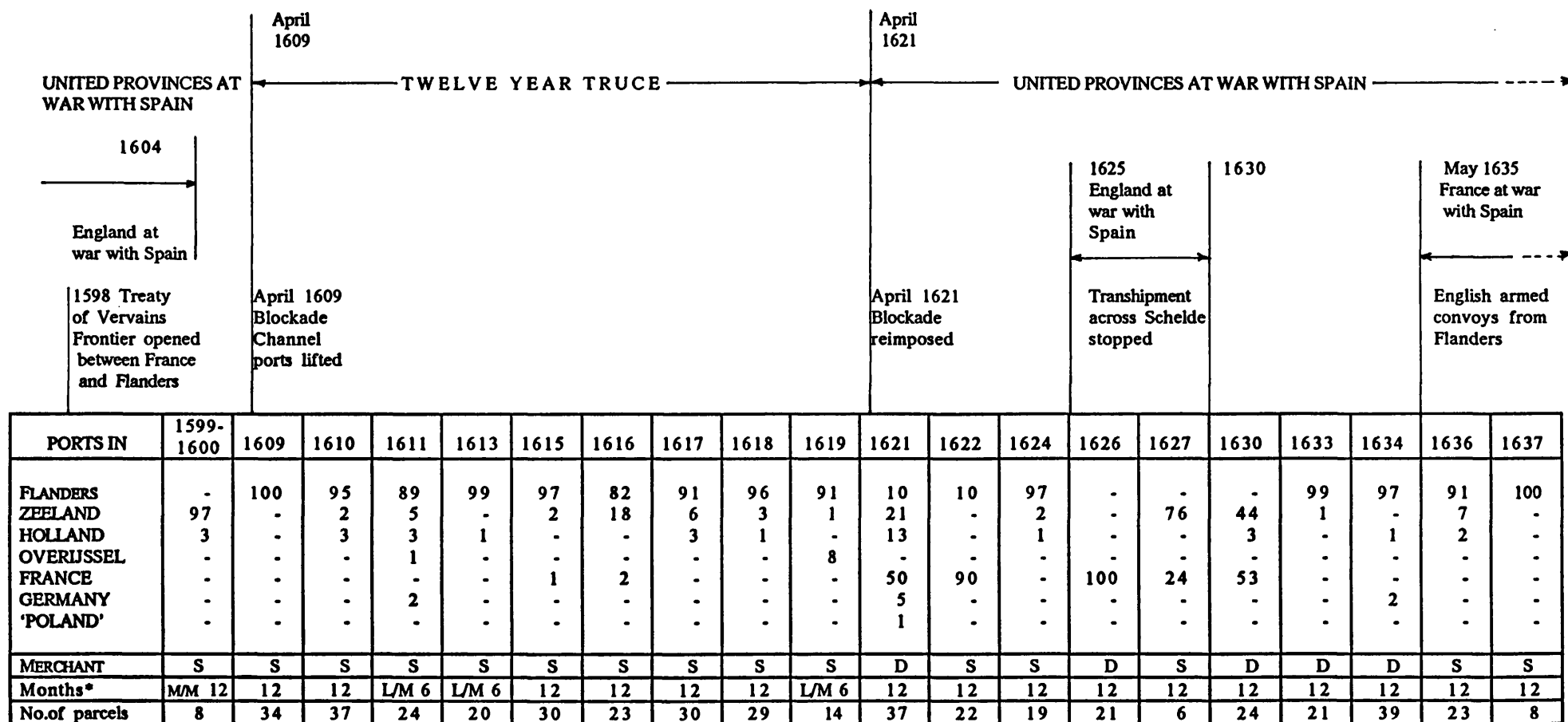


KEY: S STRANGERS; D DENIZENS; L LADY DAY; M MICHAELMAS

\* Unless otherwise noted, all periods are from Christmas to Christmas

FIG. 4.3 PORTS OF LADING OF LOW COUNTRIES DIAPER IMPORTS 1600-40  
(Proportions as percentages of total quantity shipped into London)

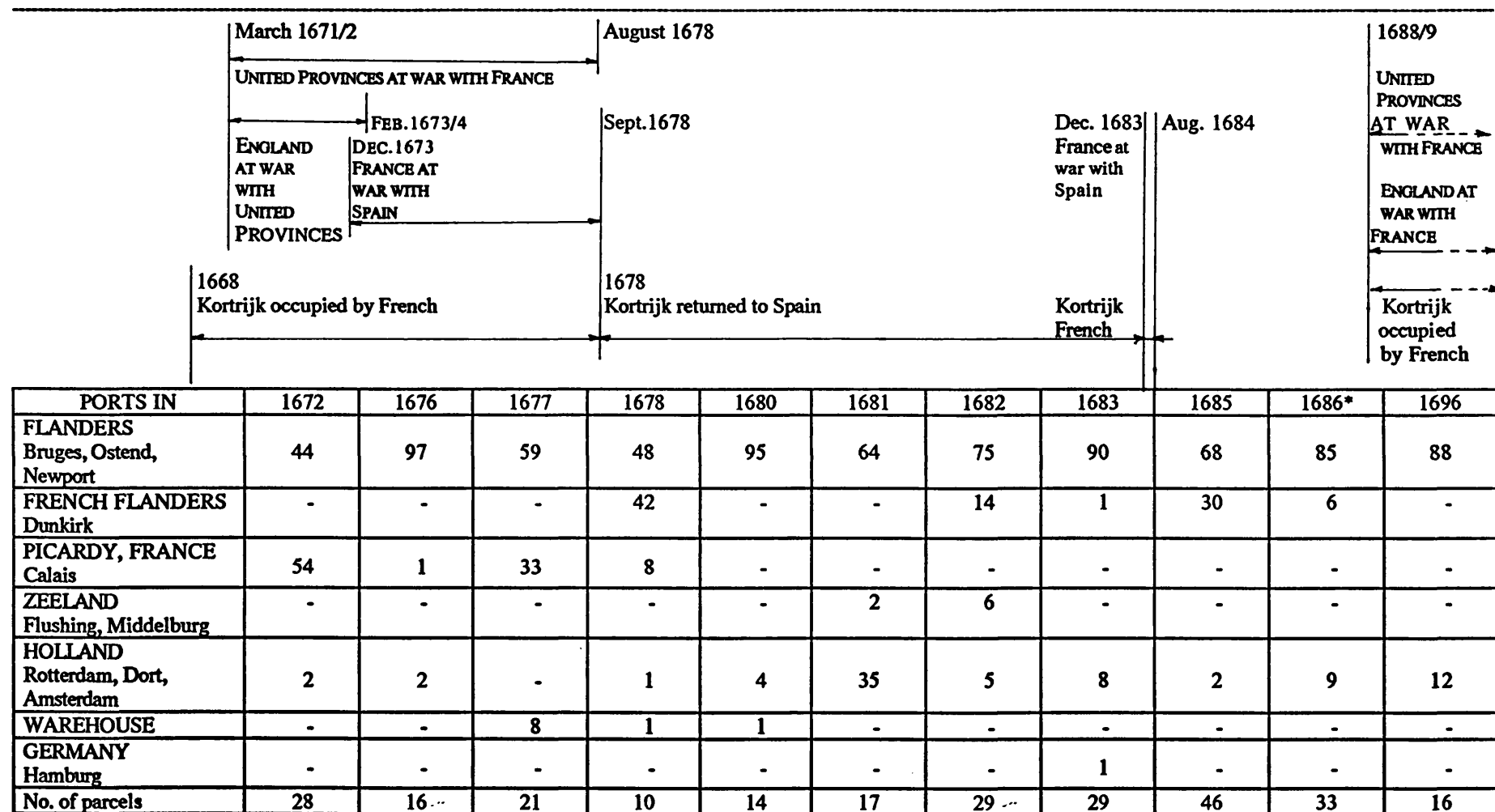
MAJOR POLITICAL EVENTS



KEY: S STRANGERS; D DENIZENS;; L LADYDAY; M MICHAELMAS

\* Unless otherwise noted, all periods are from Christmas to Christmas

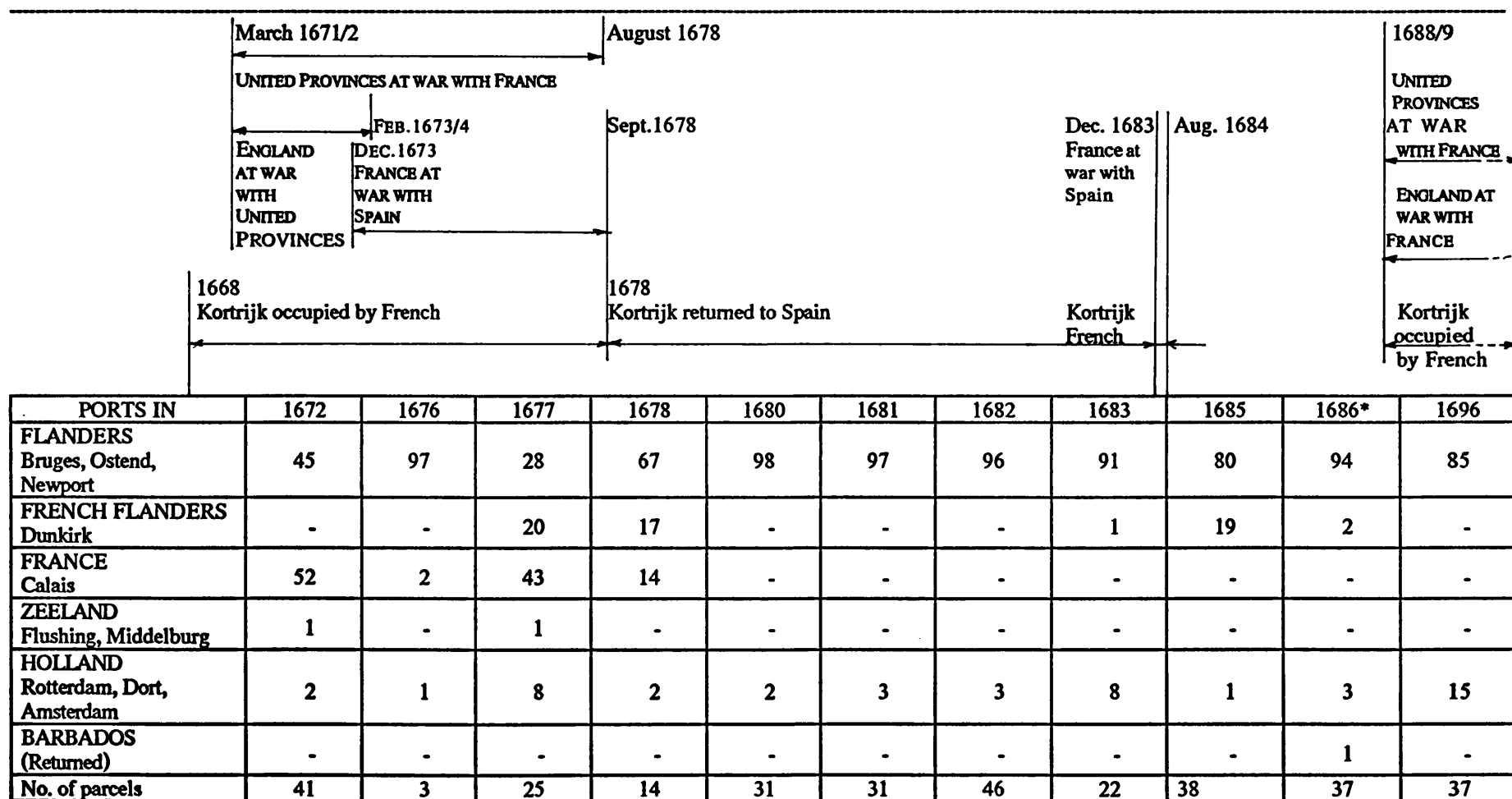
FIG. 4.4 PORTS OF LADING OF LOW COUNTRIES DAMASK IMPORTS 1660-1700  
(Proportions as percentages of total quantity shipped into London)



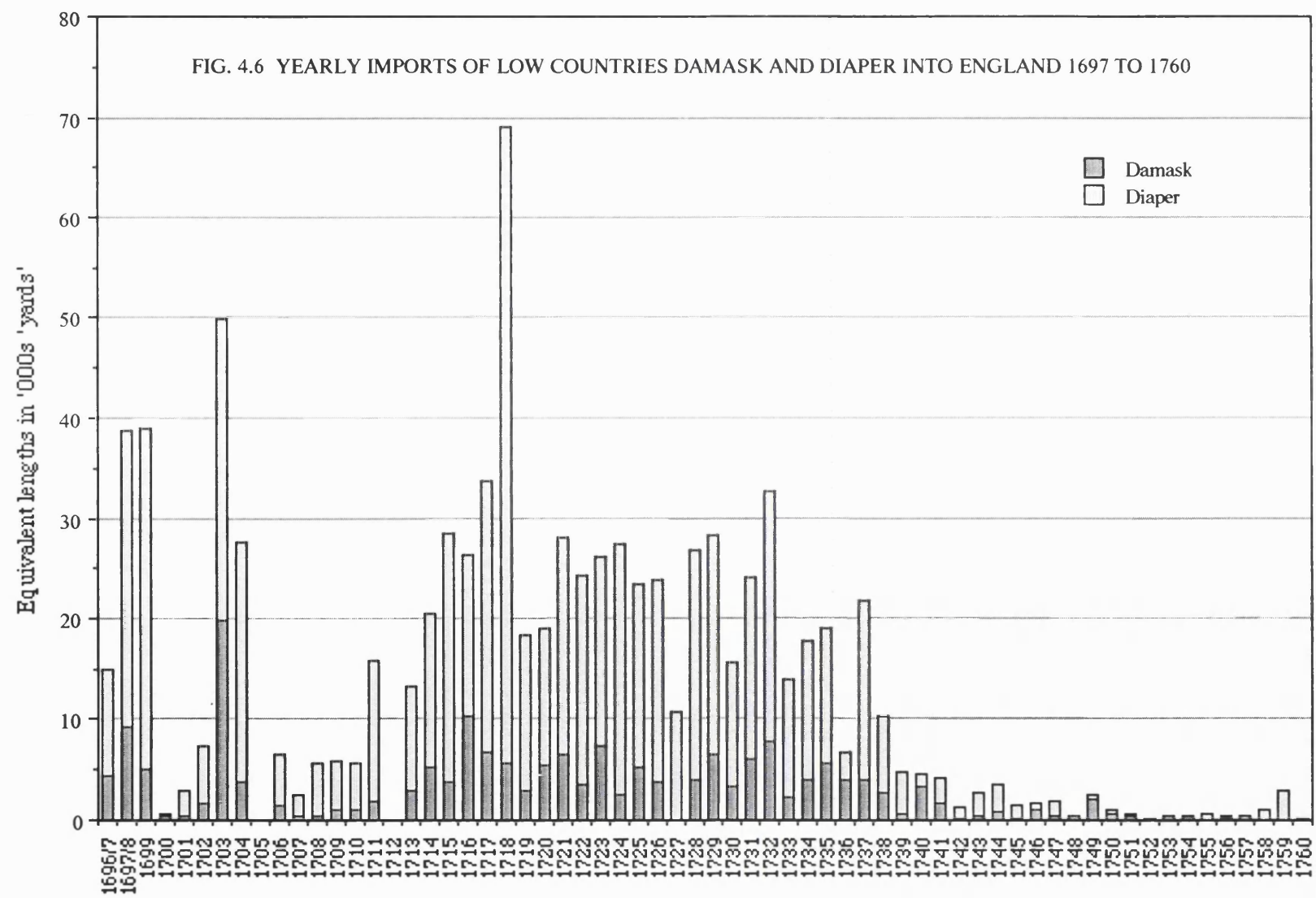
\* Incomplete year.



FIG. 4.5 PORTS OF LADING OF LOW COUNTRIES DIAPER IMPORTS 1660-1700  
(Proportions as percentages of total quantity shipped into London)



\* Incomplete year.



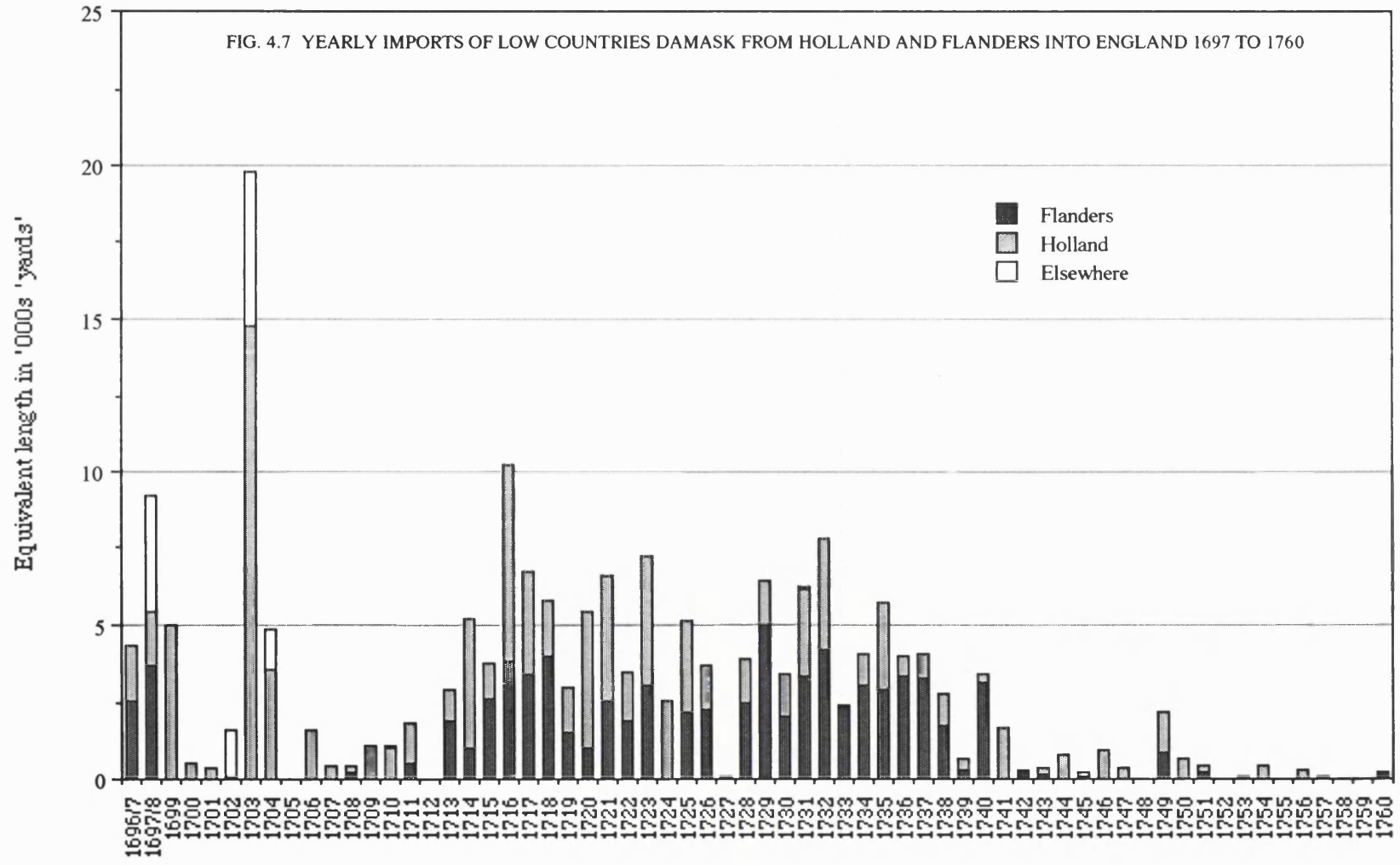
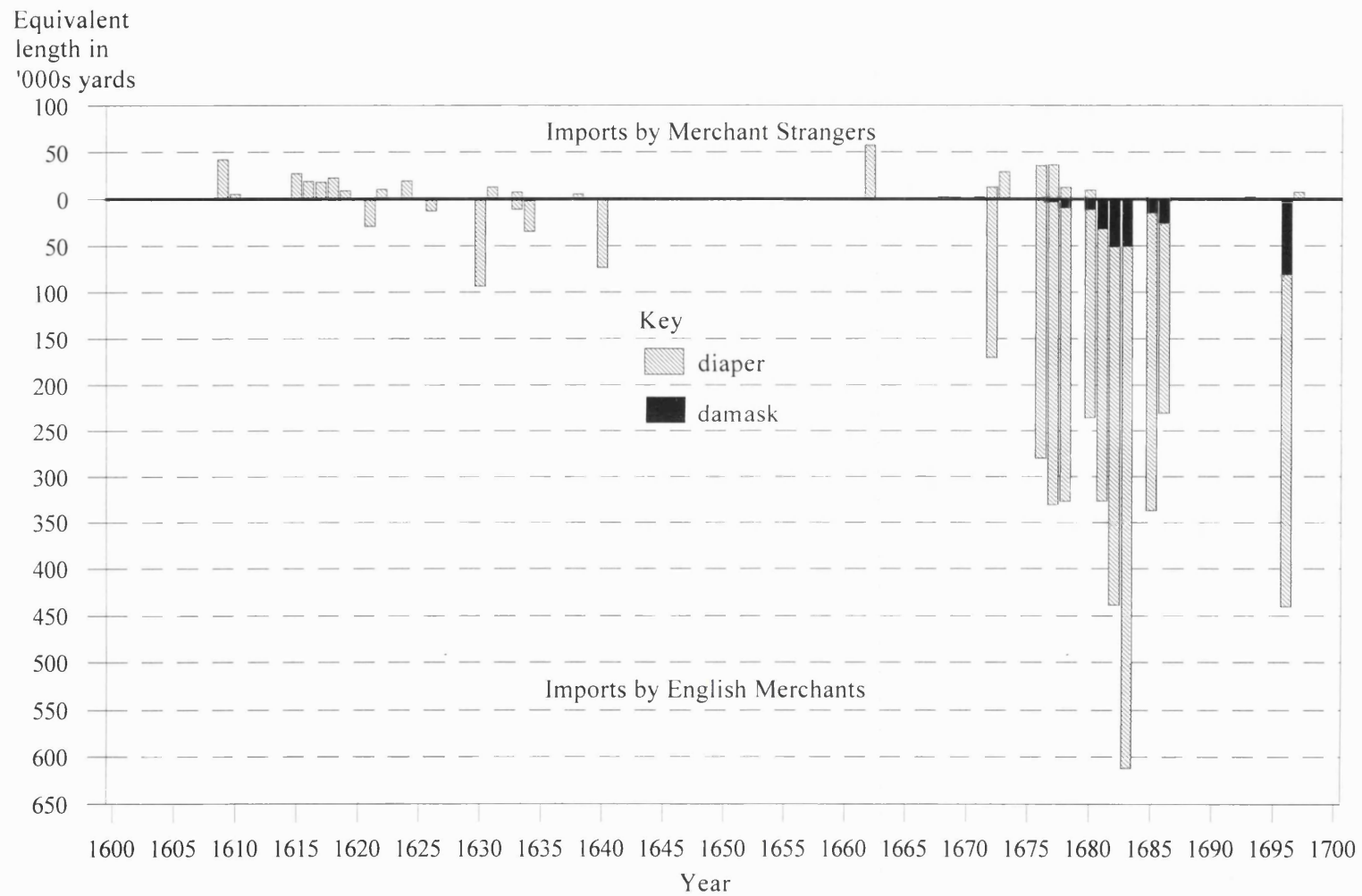
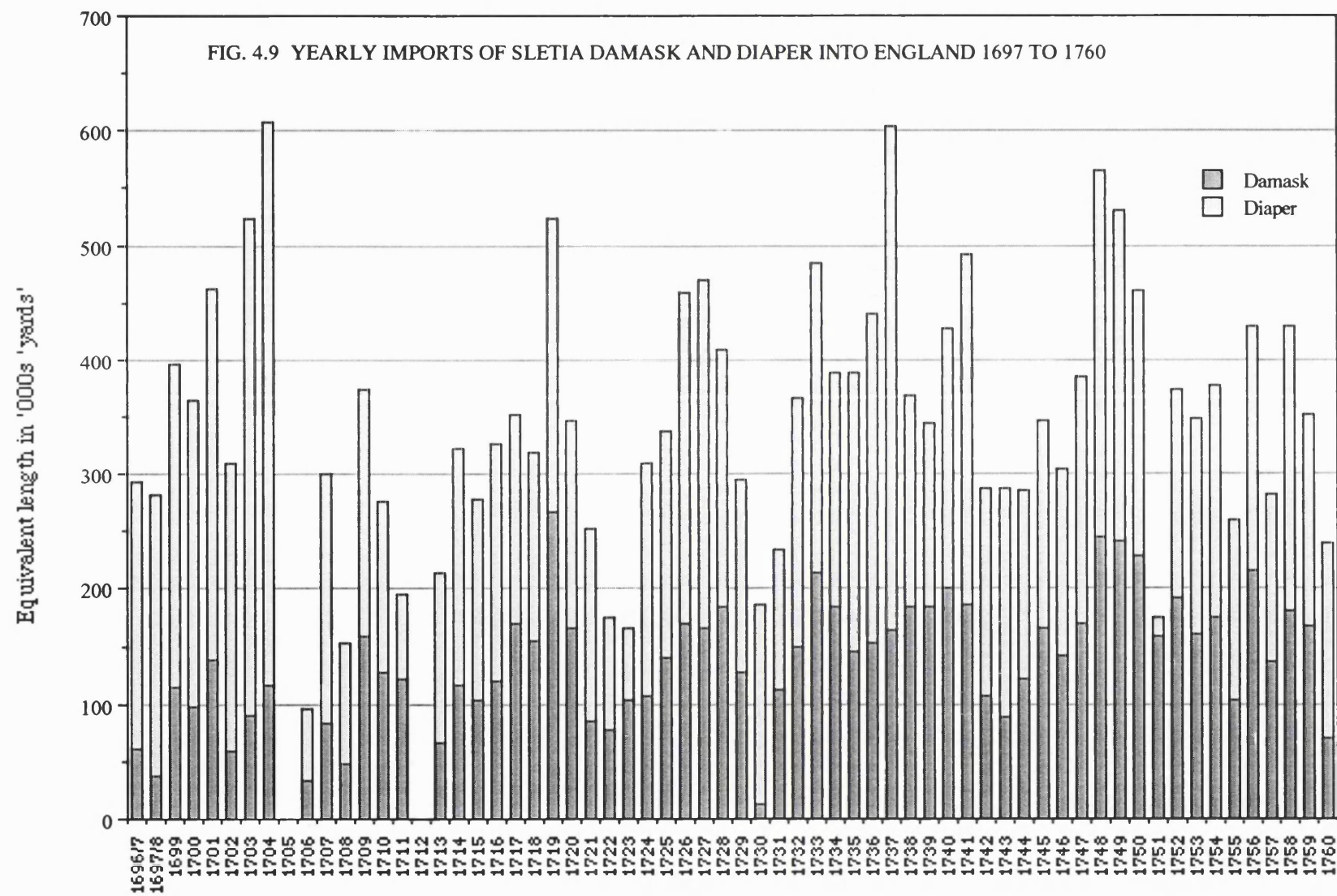


FIG. 4.8. IMPORTS OF SLETIA DAMASK AND DIAPER INTO THE PORT OF LONDON 1600 TO 1700









III. 4.1 Map of the Spanish Netherlands and United Provinces.  
A detail from William Blaeu's general map, *Nova Totius Germaniae Descriptio*, dating originally from the 1630s.  
*Cortryck* is shown to the south west of *Gendt*, and *Haerlem* to the west of *Amsterdam* (just above *Holland*).



## CHAPTER 5 SUPPLY: THE ROLE OF THE MERCHANT

*For we may take example by King Philip's Netherlands of Brabant, Flanders, Holland, Zealand, Artois, Hainault, into what state and wealth those barren countries and towns be grown in a few years by the amity and friendship of the English princes and their merchants, by whose traffic and commodities comes such incredible profits and benefits.<sup>1</sup>*

- George Nedham, merchant adventurer, c.1568

### 5.1 THE LINEN TRADE

#### a) Background

Damask and diaper table linen was imported from Flanders from the middle of the fifteenth century until the end of the sixteenth century, when in addition, diaper was imported from Germany and damask from Holland. During the seventeenth century these supplies were augmented by diaper from France and Russia, and by damask from Germany. Although individual noblemen, officers of the royal household and smugglers imported linens on their own account, most were imported by merchants. Before the Civil War, these fell into two principal groups: English merchants who were often members of the Merchant Adventurers' Company, and merchant strangers who were mostly Dutch-speaking refugees from Flanders and Brabant. There was considerable specialisation both between and within these two groups in terms of the types of linens handled and their sources of supply.

Once landed in London, linens were normally sold to linen drapers in the City. For long periods overseas merchants were forbidden to deal in retail trade. This prohibition resulted from measures agreed between the crown and the Merchant Adventurers' Company in the middle of the sixteenth century. By that time the boom in cloth exports to northern and western Europe had petered out and for the rest of the century the market was either static or in relative decline, although it retained its prime importance to England's trade. None the less, the Company and the leading merchant adventurers grew in both wealth and power within the City of London. This was achieved by a two-pronged strategy of reducing the market share of alien merchants and limiting the number of English merchants within the Company. The crown dramatically improved its finances both by a higher flow of customs duties resulting from the significant increases in the 1558 Book of Rates, and by advantageous loans from the Company. In return, the Hanse of German merchants was deprived of its trading privileges and the role of Italian and Flemish merchants was largely confined to importing. At the same time, the entry fees to the Company were much increased, resulting in a decrease in the numbers of active traders. This measure was

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<sup>1</sup> Ramsay (1979)\*, 51.

reinforced by restricting entry to 'mere merchants', thus excluding tradesmen and retailers.<sup>2</sup>

Against this background the chapter examines the merchants importing linens, particularly their family background, training, pattern of trade, and status within the London merchant community. It has two main aims: firstly, to determine whether special factors led certain individuals to specialise in the importation of damask and diaper table linen; and secondly, to see whether merchants dealing in these luxury goods adopted different trading strategies from those in mass-volume plain linens.

*b) Structure of the linen trade, 1580-1640*

In 1580, the trade with the Low Countries and Germany could be characterised as the monopoly export of unfinished English cloth by merchant adventurers in exchange for a range of commodities and manufactured goods including linens. In addition there were further imports by merchant strangers based in London in which linens figured prominently.

The Company of Merchant Adventurers had a continental headquarters at 'the English House' in Antwerp which contained lodgings for the Governor and other officers of the Company, as well as for unmarried and visiting adventurers, their factors and servants.<sup>3</sup> During the Sinksen mart, the English House was the base for several hundred. Outside the mart seasons, there was a body of semi-permanent English residents. Some were agents for leading London merchants, whilst others traded on their own account or in partnership with a colleague in London. A number were young men who spent a few years in the city, learning the language, the ways of the trade and establishing a network of contacts both in Antwerp and at the continental marts.

The political and military turmoil in the Netherlands following the Revolt, culminating in the fall of Antwerp in 1585, forced the Company to relocate their Mart town on several occasions. Eventually in 1611, Hamburg became the main focus of the Adventurers' trade although a second Mart town was kept in the United Provinces.<sup>4</sup> Without a Mart town in the Spanish Netherlands, however, the mechanism for importing Flemish linens by English merchants is not entirely clear. At times, goods were transhipped across the Schelde paying the necessary dues and then laded for London in either Zeeland or Holland ports. At others, they were shipped directly from the Flemish ports or taken into France to be laded in Calais. A nodal point for these later transactions seems to have been Lille (Rijssel), which had been ranked by Ludovico Guicciardini in 1567 as the third city of the Netherlands after Antwerp

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<sup>2</sup> See Brenner (1993), 51-91.

<sup>3</sup> Ramsay (1975), 23.

<sup>4</sup> For discussion of these moves see Ramsay (1986) & Baumann (1990).

and Amsterdam.<sup>5</sup> Apart from a considerable manufacture of woollen and mixed fabrics, Lille had a thriving merchant community. Indeed, Du Plessis writes that the

Lillois formed one of the largest and most enterprising mercantile communities in the great port of Antwerp, and when it declined after about 1570, they continued to carry on a significant share of the trade of the Southern Netherlands from their home city.<sup>6</sup>

In the early seventeenth century, the trade with northern and western Europe, although still vital to England's economy, was challenged in importance by the vigorous growth of the Levant and East India trades. This resulted in a relative decline of merchant adventurers among London's merchant élite in favour of members of the Levant and East India Companies. Robert Brenner in his recent book, *Merchants and Revolution*, describes this development and the subsequent challenges to the new élite by both merchants in the American trade and interlopers against the East India Company, whom he terms the 'New-Merchant Leadership'.<sup>7</sup> This included a number of London merchants from stranger families including several that were also active in the linen trade, such as Sir William Courteene [Courten], Adam Lawrence and John Rushout. They shared the Puritan sympathies of their English collaborators such as Maurice Thomson and Thomas Andrews.<sup>8</sup> During the Commonwealth, these 'New Merchants' achieved prominent positions in the administration and had considerable influence over maritime and mercantile affairs.<sup>9</sup>

*c) Specialisation within the linen trade, 1580-1640*

There was marked specialisation amongst overseas merchants in respect of both the commodities traded and their sources. The larger linen importers, whether English or strangers, were no exception and had only a limited proportion of their import trade in other goods. This is illustrated by analyses of the overall trade of merchants that included damask and diaper among their linen imports, in two particular years, 1609 and 1633 (Tables 5.1, 5.2 & 5.3).

Although individual merchants often specialised in trade with a particular area, for example, the Spanish Netherlands, the United Provinces, Germany or France, there was a marked difference in the balance of trade in these areas between English merchants and merchant strangers. Unfortunately a direct comparison can only be made for 1633, when the port books for both groups survive, but it is likely that the patterns indicated by the analysis for that year pertained more generally.

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<sup>5</sup> Guicciardini (1567)\*, 332.

<sup>6</sup> Du Plessis & Howell (1982), 65.

<sup>7</sup> Brenner (1993), Part Two.

<sup>8</sup> There were also personal links: for example, Maurice Thomson's wife was from a stranger family and was a member of the Dutch Church at Austin Friars.

<sup>9</sup> Brenner (1993), Part Three.

TABLE 5.1 IMPORT TRADE OF MERCHANT STRANGERS IMPORTING DAMASK AND DIAPER IN 1609  
(From PRO, E190/14/5 and 1604 Book of Rates)

NAME		LINEN CLOTH	THREAD & INCLE	OTHER GOODS	TOTAL IMPORTS	PROPORTION OF OTHER GOODS TO TOTAL
		£	£	£	£	%
Matthew	STYLTE	7556	1693	195	9444	2
Roger	TURLOTT	4193	-	638	4831	13
Rowland	DORPER	3740	28	217	3985	5
Lewes	BOVE	2838	-	216	3054	7
Andreas	BOVE	2712	2163	492	5367	9
Lucas	JACOBS	2692	110	243	3045	8
Anthony de	BOYCE	2578	16	68	2662	3
Peter	JACOBS	1950	212	828	2990	28
Jasper	QUOYMANS	1778	-	1161	2939	40
Henry	DISTELLS	1013	44	33	1090	3
Seager	CORSELLES	833	-	228	1061	21
John	WILLIAMSON	697	110	87	894	10
John de	CANE	363	-	263	626	42
Hans van	BEMBDE	308	-	-	308	0
Abram	BECKE	245	-	2284	2529	90
Arnold	GERARDE	109	-	-	109	0
Daniel van	HASEVELT	41	723	754	1518	50

TABLE 5.2 IMPORT TRADE OF MERCHANT STRANGERS IMPORTING DAMASK AND DIAPER IN 1633  
(From PRO, E190/37/8 and 1604 Book of Rates)

NAME		LINEN CLOTH	THREAD & INCLE	OTHER GOODS	TOTAL IMPORTS	PROPORTION OF OTHER GOODS TO TOTAL
		£	£	£	£	%
Adam	LAWRENCE	7515	3150	-	10665	0
William	BOVE	4346	-	-	4346	0
John	RUSHOUT	4246	-	1185	5431	22
Peter	BOUDEN	3391	-	82	3473	2
Henry	ROSTERMAN	2883	241	91	3215	3
John	CASTEEL	2491	732	-	3151	0
Francis	TERRANCE	1994	503	158	2655	6
Lucas	JACOBS	963	52	1379	2394	58
James de	WATTENS	810	87	30	927	3
Abram van	COUTER	685	285	384	1354	28
Jacob van	HORNE	159	-	107	266	40
Nico.	BAUGHE	89	-	-	89	0
Didier	ALEXANDER	73	-	-	73	0
Salomon	KEVERNOR	17	-	-	17	0
Max	SPORTLER	16	-	-	16	0
Charles	THORNTON	6	-	2	8	25

TABLE 5.3 IMPORT TRADE OF ENGLISH MERCHANTS IMPORTING DAMASK AND DIAPER IN 1633  
(From PRO, E190/38/1 and 1604 Book of Rates)

NAME		LINEN CLOTH	THREAD & INCLE	OTHER GOODS	TOTAL IMPORTS	PROPORTION OF OTHER GOODS TO TOTAL
		£	£	£	£	%
John	PARKER	6839	1853	2116	10858	20
Sir Will.	COURTEENE	3881	-	4553	8434	54
William	CHRISTMAS	3582	80	513	4175	12
Hugh	WINDHAM	2343	-	5	2348	0
James	COLLENT	1466	3	-	1469	0
Henry	BOOTHBY	1260	-	-	1260	0
John	ALFORD	559	-	20	579	3
Thomas	ANDREWS	139	-	60	199	30
John	HOLLAND	125	-	65	190	34
Hugh	PERRY	73	-	6187	6260	99
Richard	HILL	58	-	-	58	0
Sam	HIGHLAND	52	-	202	254	80
Richard	BURROWES	24	-	-	24	0
Cath.	POMFRET	12	-	-	12	0

TABLE 5.4 IMPORTS OF LINEN CLOTH INTO THE PORT OF LONDON, 1633  
(Values in sterling from PRO, E190/37/8 and /38/1, and 1604 Book of Rates)

	MERCHANT STRANGERS	MERCHANT DENIZENS	TOTAL
<b>FROM SPANISH NETHERLANDS</b>			
'Holland' damask	491	534	1025
'Holland' diaper	981	2081	3062
Plain linen cloth	27440	21986	49426
Cambric	257	557	814
Lawn	363	112	475
	29532	25270	54802
<b>FROM UNITED PROVINCES</b>			
'Holland' damask	125	7	132
'Holland' diaper	26	21	47
Sletia diaper	197	0	197
Plain linen cloth	23013	4847	27860
Cambric	7980	3186	11166
Lawn	8295	1804	10099
Canvas striped with thread or silk	5062	36	5098
	44698	9901	54599
<b>FROM FRANCE</b>			
Normandy Canvas	5610	20824	26434
Dowlas	3075	6750	9825
Treagar	4339	10267	14606
Vittry canvas	1134	1486	2620
Noyals canvas	718	3792	4510
Buckrams, etc	627	1891	2518
	15503	45010	60513
<b>FROM GERMANY AND THE BALTIC</b>			
Sletia diaper	0	278	278
Narrow Germany	43	5887	5930
Broad Germany	80	7942	8022
Sletia Lawns	0	1391	1391
Buckrams	14	903	917
Hessen, barras and Dutch canvas	977	1349	2326
Spruce, Queensborough and Elbing canvas	0	1375	1375
Other plain linen and canvas	405	8561	8966
	1519	27686	29205
<b>FROM ELSEWHERE</b>	0	276	276
<b>LINEN TOTALS</b>	91252	108143	199395
<b>DAMASK AND DIAPER TOTALS</b>	1820	2921	4741
<b>TOTALS OF ALL COMMODITIES</b>	236749	1408863	1645612
<b>PROPORTION OF LINEN:</b>			
ALL COMMODITIES	38.5%	7.7%	12.1%
<b>PROPORTION OF DAMASK AND DIAPER: LINEN TOTAL</b>	2.0%	2.7%	2.4%
<b>PROPORTION OF DAMASK AND DIAPER: ALL COMMODITIES</b>	0.8%	0.2%	0.3%

The analysis in Table 5.4 shows the relative strengths of the two groups in the different areas. The trade with the Spanish Netherlands was almost equally shared, whereas in the United Provinces the strangers controlled more than 80 per cent. In France the position was reversed, with English merchants importing three quarters of the quantities of the various canvases woven in Brittany and Normandy. In Germany and the Baltic the stranglehold of the English merchants was even more pronounced, with a mere 5 per cent of linen imports in the hands of the strangers.

The merchant strangers trading in linen with the Low Countries were mostly Dutch-speaking refugees or their descendants from Flanders or Brabant, and were members of the Dutch Church at Austin Friars.<sup>10</sup> When they arrived in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century, the 'Dutch' merchant strangers were denied active membership of the English overseas trading companies and their trade was principally confined to importation from the Low Countries. In the Spanish Netherlands, they faced strong competition from English merchants who had long standing commercial links with local merchants and suppliers. However, in the United Provinces the situation was different, for the development of fine quality manufactures, including linens in Haarlem, followed the Dutch Revolt and accelerated after the fall of Antwerp in 1585. In an unsettled situation without the established trading links that they enjoyed in the south, it seems that English merchants were outperformed by merchant strangers. The latter had the advantage of personal contacts with fellow Flemish refugees in the northern towns who were often relations and co-religionists.<sup>11</sup> The position was reversed in Germany, for the merchant adventurers controlled the export of English woollens through Hamburg where they established close contacts within the German trade.

The analysis for 1633 also shows that the linen trade was of much greater importance to the strangers than to the English merchant community, with nearly 40 per cent of the strangers' trade in linens but less than 8 per cent of that of English merchants. In terms of overall import trade the strangers' proportion amounted to less than 15 per cent, a far cry from the half share that they were said to have had in the 'Complaynt of the Cytizens of London against the great number of strangers' of 1571.<sup>12</sup>

Personal trading strategies varied considerably and depended not only upon commercial considerations such as access to capital, the availability of goods and the strength of home demand, but also upon the network of personal relationships established by birth, marriage and apprenticeship. In addition, those English merchants who were also exporters necessarily linked their strategies for both phases of their operations. For the merchant strangers who had little export trade, this was not a consideration. The different patterns of import trade are analysed for the leading linen merchants for 1609 and 1633 in Tables 5.5 5.6 and 5.7.

These illustrate that the great majority of merchants imported linens from one geographical area, the Low Countries, France or Germany. Depending upon the political and military situation, a number of merchant strangers traded throughout the Low Countries, in both the

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10 With few exceptions those trading with France were either Walloons or French Protestant refugees and were members of the French Church.

11 For fuller discussion of the merchant strangers in London, see Mitchell (1995C).

12 Tawney & Power (1924)\*, 308.



Spanish Netherlands and the United Provinces. In contrast, few English merchants traded in both states. Significantly, one of the few English merchants who traded in the north as well as the south in 1633 was Sir William Courteene, who was descended from a prominent family of Flemish immigrants, his mother being the Margaret Courteene listed amongst the merchant strangers in 1609 (Table 5.5). Even among the merchant strangers, some confined their trade to one state: in 1609 Rowland Dorper shipped exclusively from Dunkirk in Flanders but Anthony de Boyce from the Dutch ports; similarly in 1633, Peter Herne only shipped from southern ports but Adam Lawrence from those in the north.

There was also specialisation in the type of linen imported: for example in 1609, Robert de Lewe shipped just cambrics and lawns, valued in excess of £6,000; in 1633 Peter Cross traded simply in cambrics, and in the same year Levan van Marse's trade was dominated by canvases striped either with silk or thread. Others concentrated upon 'ordinary' plain linens, largely importing Gentish and Isingham cloth from the Flemish ports and Calais, or Holland cloth from the Dutch ports. There may have been further specialisation among this group, for although these plain cloths were all valued in the 1604 Book of Rates at a uniform 16d per ell, they clearly varied in both quality and width, as indicated by the prices found amongst linen drapers' stocks.<sup>13</sup>

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13 It is likely that the descriptions 'Gentish' and 'Isingham' did not refer to the cloth's quality but to the markets at Gent and Iseghem where it was bought. Once it had passed through the merchants' hands to shopkeepers, chapmen and customers, such plain materials were generally all described in England as 'hollands'.

TABLE 5.5 LINEN IMPORTS BY MERCHANT STRANGERS, 1609  
(Valuations in sterling calculated from quantities in London Port Book PRO E190/14/5 using 1604 Book of Rates)

NAME		'HOLLAND' DAMASK		'HOLLAND' DIAPER		SLETIA DIAPER	PLAIN LINENS		CAMBRICS & LAWNS		STRIPED CANVAS ETC	MISC. LINEN CLOTH	TOTAL
		North <sup>a</sup>	South <sup>b</sup>	North	South		Hollands <sup>c</sup>	Gentish & Isinghams <sup>d</sup>	North	South			
Matthew	STYLTE	-	44	-	-	-	680	1179	4797	854	2	-	7556
Robert de	LEWE	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6348	-	-	-	6348
Mychael	CORSELLES	-	-	-	-	-	1203	1495	1912	140	-	13 <sup>e</sup>	4763
Roger	TURLOTT	-	2	-	42	-	310	3839	-	-	-	-	4193
Rowland	DORPER	-	23	-	191	-	-	3526	-	-	-	-	3740
Margaret	COURTEENE	-	-	-	-	-	260	283	2163	-	-	499 <sup>e</sup>	3205
Anthony	LYMALE	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3130	-	-	3130
Abram	RUSHOULT	-	-	-	-	-	241	1003	1321	-	348	-	2913
Lewes	BOVE	-	42	-	203	-	257	1672	614	-	50	-	2838
Andreas	BOVE	-	368	-	695	-	415	866	368	-	-	-	2712
Lucas	JACOBS	-	-	3	-	-	2070	-	225	-	394	-	2692
Jacob	BOLLE	-	-	-	-	-	-	2686	-	-	-	-	2686
John	WYBOE	-	-	-	-	-	1344	81	-	1049	-	-	2474
Anthony de	BOYCE	137	-	-	-	-	454	-	106	-	1881	-	2578
Lucas	STALLONS	-	-	-	-	-	237	1963	-	-	-	-	2200
Peter	JACOBS	195	-	-	-	-	1045	145	361	-	204	-	1950
John	MOUNSYE	-	-	-	-	-	639	70	270	-	709	146 <sup>e</sup>	1834
Jasper	QUOYMANS	-	-	-	-	3	1267	453	-	-	11	44	1778
Peter	WIBOE	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1477	-	-	1477
Isack von	PAYNE	-	-	-	-	-	-	1001	-	48	-	-	1049
Henry	DISTELLS	-	-	-	-	1013	-	-	-	-	-	-	1013
Joas	CALFE	-	-	-	-	-	467	448	-	-	28	-	943
Seager	CORSELLES	489	-	-	-	-	247	-	-	-	50	47	833
OTHERS (143 in all)		821	479	3	1131	1016	11136	20710	18485	6698	3677	49	64905
		96	-	-	45	76	5325	3686	2022	1625	598	2534	16007
TOTAL £		917	479	3	1176	1092	16461	24396	20507	8323	4275	3283	80912

**Notes:**

a North indicates shipments from ports in the United Provinces.

b South indicates shipments from ports in either the Spanish Netherlands or France.

c Hollands were shipped from ports in the United Provinces.

d Gentish & Isinghams were shipped from either the Spanish Netherlands or France.

e Sletia lawns.

TABLE 5.6 LINEN IMPORTS BY MERCHANT STRANGERS, 1633

(Valuations in sterling calculated from quantities in London Port Book PRO E/190/37/8, using 1604 Book of Rates)

NAME	'HOLLAND' DAMASK		'HOLLAND' DIAPER		SLETIA DIAPER	PLAIN LINENS		CAMBRICS & LAWNS		STRIPED CANVAS	FRENCH CANVAS, ETC	MISC. LINENS	TOTAL
	North <sup>a</sup>	South <sup>b</sup>	North	South		North	South	North	South	North	France		
Gyles van BRUG	-	-	-	-	-	2673	2216	4969	-	347	-	-	10205
Adam LAWRENCE	4	-	-	-	14	3208	-	4289	-	-	-	-	7515
John ABELLS	-	-	-	-	-	3469	2658	-	-	-	-	-	6127
Paul GANNY	-	-	-	-	-	265	4288	-	-	817	-	-	5370
William BOEVE	-	4	-	-	-	1771	2571	-	-	-	-	-	4346
William PLATMAN	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4316	-	4316
John RUSHOUT	38	154	26	4	-	389	1517	1982	101	-	35	-	4246
Francis SAYON	-	-	-	-	-	161	3138	-	-	583	-	-	3882
Peter BOUDEN	-	-	-	120	-	244	782	2245	-	-	-	-	3391
Will. de VISHER	-	-	-	-	-	1537	501	1039	-	149	-	-	3226
Levan van MARSE	-	-	-	-	-	103	-	-	-	2841	-	-	2944
Henry ROSTERMAN	-	66	-	54	-	1920	843	-	-	-	-	-	2883
John CASTEEL	-	47	-	678	-	255	1439	-	-	-	-	-	2419
Peter HERNE	-	-	-	-	-	-	2045	-	72	-	-	-	2117
Jonas de PAISTRE	-	-	-	-	-	1226	150	-	-	-	312	346	2034
Francis TERRANCE	83	-	-	-	-	1826	44	-	-	41	-	-	1994
James BOWDWIN	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1623	-	1623
Jacob de LEAU	-	-	-	-	-	383	-	1103	-	-	62	-	1548
Nico. COGNARD	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1532	-	1532
Peter SONE	-	-	-	-	-	55	1303	-	-	-	-	-	1358
Peter DOLYNS	-	-	-	-	-	702	511	-	-	-	-	-	1213
John van BERGE	-	-	-	-	-	-	1022	-	-	-	-	-	1022
Abram BEARD	-	-	-	-	-	804	-	-	-	196	-	-	1000
Lucas JACOBS	-	70	-	53	-	677	163	-	-	-	-	-	963
James de WATTENS	-	-	-	23	-	56	715	-	-	-	16	-	810
Claude TASSON	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	522	-	-	284	-	806
Abram van COUTER	-	-	-	-	175	501	-	-	-	9	-	-	685
OTHERS (101 in all)	-	150	-	49	8	788	1534	126	447	79	7333	1173	11687
TOTAL	125	491	26	981	197	23013	27440	16275	620	5062	15513	1519	91262

**Notes:**

a North indicates shipments from ports in the United Provinces.

b South indicates shipment from ports in either the Spanish Netherlands or France.

TABLE 5.7 LINEN IMPORTS BY ENGLISH MERCHANTS, 1633  
(Valuations in sterling calculated from quantities in London Port Book PRO E/190/38/1, using 1604 Book of Rates)

NAME		'HOLLAND' DAMASK		'HOLLAND' DIAPER		SLETTA DIAPER	PLAIN LINENS		CAMBRICS & LAWNS		NORM- ANDY CANVAS	BRIT- TANY LINENS	GERMAN LINENS	TOTAL
		North	South	North	South		North	South	North	South				
John	PARKER	-	367	-	1364	-	68	4965	61	-	-	-	-	6825
William	BARCLAY	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4628	-	-	4628
Richard	LEGG	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	44	4008	-	4052
Sir William	COURTEENE	-	47	-	546	-	-	497	2791	-	-	-	-	3881
Job	HARBIE	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2672	1192	-	3864
William	CHRISTMAS	-	-	-	-	156	-	-	-	-	-	-	3426	3582
Anthony	BIDDULPH	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3282	3282
Stephen	CHARLETON	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1699	1088	-	2787
George	FRANCKLIN	-	-	-	-	-	653	-	-	-	144	-	1982	2779
George	HENLEY	-	-	-	-	-	-	2648	-	-	-	-	-	2648
Chris.	VIVIAN	-	-	-	-	-	-	2469	-	-	-	-	-	2469
Hugh	WINDHAM	-	-	-	-	8	-	-	-	-	-	-	2335	2343
Walter	PELL	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2278	2278
Daniel	HARVEY	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1387	790	-	2177
Peter	CROSS	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1948	-	-	-	-	1948
Law.	BRINDLEY	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	32	1740	-	1772
Richard	TOMES	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	828	870	-	1698
Richard	BLASHFORD	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1020	637	-	1657
Thomas	KEIGHTLY	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1517	1517
Richard	SAMBORNE	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	690	797	-	1487
James	COLLENT	-	47	-	131	-	-	1288	-	-	-	-	-	1466
John	PAYNTER	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1466	-	1466
Charles	SNELLINGE	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1112	151	-	1263
Henry	BOOTHBY	-	-	-	-	98	-	-	-	-	-	-	1162	1260
Ellis	CUNLIFFE	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1208	6	-	1214
Nico.	GOULD	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1188	-	1188
Stephen	WHITE	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	892	245	-	1137
Thomas	SMITH	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	42	-	1047	1089
Anthony	LARDER	-	-	-	-	-	-	1070	-	-	-	-	-	1070
Charles	FRANCKE	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	268	765	-	1033
OTHERS (310 in all)		-	461	-	2041	262	721	12937	4800	-	16666	14943	17029	69860
		7	73	21	40	16	4126	8779	190	669	4160	9243	10691	38015
TOTAL		7	534	21	2081	278	4847	21716	4990	669	20826	24186	27720	107875

Notes: a and b - see Table 5.6.

Sometimes merchants specialised in both commodity and trading area. In 1609 Anthony Lymale imported cambrics and lawns and Jacob Bolle plain linens solely from southern ports, whilst Henry Distells traded exclusively in Sletia diaper shipped from Stade. This pattern was not found, however, among the merchant adventurers trading in German linens through the port of Hamburg. In 1633, English merchants such as William Christmas and Hugh Windham traded solely in German linens through Hamburg, but shipped a variety of cloth: narrow and broad Germany, Sletia lawns, Hessen canvas, Hinderlands, 'Osnabrugs' and many more.

## 5.2 *ENGLISH MERCHANTS IMPORTING TABLE LINEN, 1580-1640*

### a) *English merchants importing 'Holland' damask and diaper, 1580-1640*

Although most napery was imported by merchants specialising in the linen trade, some shipments were consigned to noblemen and others, either for their own use or for friends and relations. Thus in 1565, although several shipments were received by prominent merchant adventurers, others were consigned to the Earl of Arundel, the Duchess of Suffolk and 'Chrystyan Hafryng, pottmaker'.<sup>14</sup> It seems that such direct purchases lessened as the trade in figured table linen grew, although the evidence is limited.<sup>15</sup>

An analysis of the imports of napery by English merchants between 1620 and 1640 indicates several salient features of the trade (Tables 5.8 & 5.9). There was a clear split between merchants trading in damask and diaper from the Low Countries (called 'Holland' damask and diaper irrespective of its origin) and Sletia diaper from Germany. Further, in any one year, three or four merchants dominated the trade in each area. A number of these imported napery as a significant part of their overall trade for several years. None the less, the value of damask and diaper imports in this period only represented some two per cent of total linen imports and no merchant traded exclusively in fine napery. For example, James Collent who regularly imported linens from Flanders between 1629 and 1640, had 12 per cent in damask and diaper in 1633, the rest being plain linen. In that year John Parker had 25 per cent of his linen imports in damask and diaper. Parker also imported

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<sup>14</sup> PRO E190/3/3. The adventurers include Nicholas Woodroffe, Anthony Radclyffe and William Beswick who all served as aldermen in the City - see Beaven (1913). In 1565, the large number of consignees (40) was probably owing to pent-up demand, as the Netherlands had been closed to English trade between the autumn of 1563 and January 1565 - see Ramsay (1975), 17-33.

<sup>15</sup> A few consignments to prominent individuals are found in the seventeenth century, e.g. E190/58/1, 1672, Earls of Lauderdale and Arlington, E190/64/1, 1676, Lady Temple.

linen thread and other textiles and when considered against his total imports the proportion of damask and diaper was 16 per cent.<sup>16</sup>

English merchants usually shipped damask and diaper from the Spanish Netherlands and it was only in 1621 and 1630 that they imported significant quantities from the United Provinces. In 1621 the ending of the Twelve Years Truce and the renewal of the Dutch blockade of the Flemish ports resulted in Courteene shipping either from Calais or the Dutch ports. Similarly in 1630, William Williams and James Collent received consignments from both Calais and the Dutch ports, although John Parker and Christopher Vivian continued to trade solely through Calais.<sup>17</sup> The willingness and the ability to purchase and ship consignments from both the Spanish Netherlands and the United Provinces was not a question of the scale of the business, for John Parker was the major English importer of linens in 1633. As the reasons for these different patterns of trade may lie in the background and training of individual merchants, it is necessary to explore the biographies of the leading importers.

TABLE 5.8 LOW COUNTRIES DAMASK AND DIAPER IMPORTS INTO LONDON BY ENGLISH MERCHANTS, 1620-1640: INDIVIDUAL PROPORTION OF TRADE  
(Figures are percentage of total damask and diaper imports by English merchants)

NAME	YEAR						
	1621 <sup>a</sup>	1626 <sup>a</sup>	1630 <sup>a</sup>	1633 <sup>a</sup>	1634 <sup>a</sup>	1638 <sup>b</sup>	1640 <sup>a</sup>
Sir William COURTEENE	78	79	-	22	13	-	-
John PARKER	-	12	8	66	25	13	-
William WILLIAMS	-	-	57	-	-	-	-
James COLLENT	-	-	25	7	16	14	15
Christopher VIVIAN	-	-	-	-	9	-	3
William WALLWIN	-	-	-	-	6	-	-
William SAMON	-	-	-	-	7	-	-
Toby WETHERALL	-	-	-	-	6	-	-
John ALDERS	-	-	-	-	-	9	-
Christopher YARDLEY	-	-	-	-	-	42	-
Thomas HOPKINS	-	-	-	-	-	-	31
Joseph PARKER	-	-	-	-	-	-	10
Thomas CHAPMAN	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
SUBTOTAL (%)	78	91	99	95	82	90	93
OTHERS (%)	22	9	1	5	18	10	7
TOTAL (%)	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
TOTAL VALUATION <sup>d</sup> (£)	1870	3020	3210	2640	3990	830	2030

<sup>16</sup> Courteene had 7% of his total imports in 'Holland' napery in 1633.

<sup>17</sup> William Williams drove an international trade and was one of the few merchant adventurers who held office in both the Levant and East India Companies, Beaven (1913).



TABLE 5.9 SLETIA DIAPER IMPORTS INTO LONDON BY ENGLISH MERCHANTS, 1620-1640:  
INDIVIDUAL PROPORTIONS OF TRADE  
(Figures are percentage of total Sletia diaper imports by English merchants)

NAME		YEAR						
		1621 <sup>a</sup>	1626 <sup>a</sup>	1630 <sup>a</sup>	1633 <sup>a</sup>	1634 <sup>a</sup>	1638 <sup>b</sup>	1640 <sup>a</sup>
Henry	VINCENT	51	-	-	-	-	-	-
William	CRANMER	10 <sup>c</sup>	-	-	-	-	-	-
Reynold	ROGERSON	18	-	-	-	-	-	-
Hugh	WINDHAM	-	88	31	3	15	38	48
Henry	BOOTHBY	-	12	19	36	38	-	-
Thomas	KEIGHTLEY	10	-	17	-	9	48	47
William	CHRISTMAS	-	-	12	56	37	-	5
Christopher	WILLIAMSON	-	-	7	-	-	-	-
John	TUCKER	-	-	7	-	-	-	-
Robert	ANGELL	-	-	6	-	-	-	-
Thomas	ANDREWS	-	-	-	3 <sup>c</sup>	-	14	-
SUBTOTAL (%)		89	100	99	98	99	100	100
OTHERS (%)		11	-	1 <sup>c</sup>	2	1	-	-
TOTAL (%)		100	100	100	100	100	100	100
TOTAL VALUATION <sup>d</sup> (£)		720	320	2330	260	810	380	1840

Notes to Tables 5.8 & 5.9

- a Period from Christmas to Christmas, e.g. '1621' indicates period from Christmas 1620 to Christmas 1621, i.e. 12 months.  
b Lady Day (25 March) to Michaelmas (29 September), i.e. 6 months.  
c Indicates Sletia damask.  
d Quantities extracted from the port books and valued using the 1604 Book of Rates.

William Courteene was born in London in 1572, the son of William Courteene the elder and his wife Margaret Casier, Flemish immigrants from Menen, who had arrived in London in 1568.<sup>18</sup> William served as factor for his father in Haarlem where he married the daughter of a wealthy merchant Peter Cromling [Cromlinck] about 1597, a son Peter being baptised at Austin Friars in May 1599.<sup>19</sup> At this time the Courteene family's trade was considerable with more than half the fine napery imported in that year being consigned to William Courteene the elder (Table 5.11). He also provided £1,000 toward the loan raised by the crown the same year.<sup>20</sup> William the younger was living in London when his father died in 1603.<sup>21</sup> At about this time, William's first wife must also have died for in 1604 he married Esther, the daughter of Pieter Trioen, a leading merchant stranger in London. They subsequently had three daughters who lived to adulthood and a son William born in 1607. It is said that in 1606, William formed a partnership with his brother Peter and John Mounsye [Jan de Moncij] who had married their widowed sister Margaret Boudaen in May of that year.<sup>22</sup> Despite the apparent formation of this partnership, William's mother, Margaret Courteene, continued her late husband's trade for several years, with more than £3,000 of linens being consigned to her in 1609 (Table 5.5). In the same year, John Mounsye received nearly £2,000 of linens which may represent his 'sole' trade or that in partnership with William and Peter Courteene. As the brothers were born in

18 Kirk & Kirk (1900)\*, ii, 69, Return of Aliens, 10 Nov. 1571, 'Guillam Curtayne ... here iij yeares'.

19 DNB. Moens (1884)\*, 16.

20 Kirk & Kirk (1900)\*, iii, 109. 'Guillaume Cortyn, junior' also provided £300.

21 Will, PRO Prob.11/104, sig. 97.

22 Partnership mentioned in DNB. The marriages and baptisms are all in Moens (1884)\*, 100 & 16.

London, apparently after their father's denization, they were entered in the English merchants port books.<sup>23</sup>

The partnership prospered and evolved into a major international business. William was knighted in 1622 and his brother Peter, two years later. Despite the diversification of his trade, Sir William maintained the import of fine linens, apparently in partnership with his brother Sir Peter in Middelburg and John Mounsey in London, until their respective deaths in 1631 and 1632. Thereafter, he continued this side of his trade until his own death in 1636.<sup>24</sup> In 1633, he imported nearly £4,000 of linens including damask and diaper. His export trade, however, was quite different from most English linen importers, whose exports consisted of woollen cloth and hose to Germany and the Low Countries. In contrast, in 1634 Courteene exported some £7,500 of a variety of goods to Spain, Barbary and France.<sup>25</sup> Although legally English, Sir William's birth precluded him from a leading role in the Levant or East India Company. This led him initially to pursue the typical trade of a merchant stranger to the Low Countries, but ultimately to interloping activities against the major chartered companies.<sup>26</sup> None the less, he eschewed the normal role within the stranger community for although he was a member of the Dutch Church he declined to serve as either elder or deacon, unlike his father, his partner John Mounsye and his fellow interlopers Adam Lawrence and John Rushout.<sup>27</sup>

James Collent, or Callent, died overseas in 1648.<sup>28</sup> He was a bachelor and in the absence of a will, the administration of his estate was granted to his brother 'Geo. Callant'.<sup>29</sup> James may be identified with Jacob Calandt who became a member of the Dutch Church in 1623.<sup>30</sup> This suggests that he was born in England soon after the turn of the century of a denizen father, who may have been 'John Calant' listed among the 'Free Denysons, Marchant Members of the Dutch Congregation in London' in 1617.<sup>31</sup> It is likely that James was either the brother or cousin of the merchant Garret Calant whose son John also died abroad a bachelor in 1655.<sup>32</sup> James Collent's trade despite his status as an English merchant was typical of that of a merchant stranger. He had very little export trade, and his

23 The details including the date of their father's denization are not known, but it presumably took place before William the younger's birth in 1572. A son born before his father's denization was generally treated by the Customs as a merchant stranger, e.g. William Boeve, baptised 15 May 1603, whose father Andries only became a denizen on 2 Aug. 1604.

24 Will, Prob.11/171, sig. 69.

25 E190/38/7.

26 See Brenner (1993), 168-181.

27 Moens (1884)\*, 209.

28 PCC Administrations, Prob. 6/23, 8 Feb 1647/8, 16, Jacobus Callant.

29 Possibly the 'Jooris Clant' who became a member of the Dutch Church in 1619, Guildhall 7404, 88v.

30 Guildhall 7404, 71.

31 Membership was usually taken at the age of 18 to 20, e.g. Hendrick Hoevenaer baptised 1598, member 1618 and Nicholas Corseles baptised 1600, member 1618; for 'John Calant', see Kirk & Kirk (1900)\*, iii, 152.

32 Garret Calant, member of Dutch Church 1616, died in 1645, Will, Prob.11/193, sig. 78. He had at least three sons, Oliver, John and James. John's will is Prob.11/246, sig. 231.

import trade was largely confined to linen cloth which included regular parcels of damask and diaper from the Spanish Netherlands.<sup>33</sup>

The third regular 'English' importer of damask and diaper from the Low Countries at this period was John Parker. He was the son of Thomas Parker of Leicester and was apprenticed in 1610 to Thomas Dampont, a member of the Haberdashers' Company.<sup>34</sup> His apprenticeship coincided with the Twelve Years Truce (1609-1621) between Spain and the United Provinces and towards the end of his time, it is likely he served as a factor in the Spanish Netherlands. He married his first wife Bridget about 1626 and settled in the parish of St Pancras, Soper Lane.<sup>35</sup> Bridget died in 1630 and he was remarried in 1634 to Joan Drake.<sup>36</sup> In 1638, his house in St Pancras Lane was valued at a rent of £53 per annum and the adjoining property occupied by his brother and partner Joseph Parker at £25 per annum.<sup>37</sup> In 1639, the registers of St Pancras recorded that, 'Mr John Parker, merchant, dieing at Lyle [Lille] in Flanders, was brought over & was buried the 22 day of August in the Chancell'.<sup>38</sup> His will is very detailed with bequests amounting to more than £11,000, in addition to the unquantified residual estate. Parker was clearly of a staunchly Protestant persuasion, for he left money to 'poor godlie persons in the Pallatinate' and commissioned two minsters to edit into single volumes, for the 'comfort and Edification' of each of his children, 'those six bookes wherein I have written of my owne life: mans miserye, Gods mercy and of Charitie'. He also provided money for foundlings to be apprenticed in New England, some to be bound to another brother James Parker, if he so desired.<sup>39</sup>

John and Joseph Parker's basic trade was the export to Flanders of English woollens in exchange for linens. Much of this trade was possibly organised through Lille where John died.<sup>40</sup> It is likely that yet another brother Mark Parker served as one of their factors in the Low Countries, for in John's will he was appointed an overseer 'if hee bee in England'.

33 E190/38/7, 10 October 1634, 28 lbs saffron.  
E190/48/3, 1640, no exports.

34 Guildhall 15860/3, 3 August 1610. Thomas was described as 'yeoman' and was probably a hosier as his sons John and Joseph left money to 'poor knitters' in Leicester.

35 *Harleian* 44 (1914)\*. Bridget Parker was godmother to Elizabeth Manton, 20 July 1627. Margaret, daughter of 'John Parker m'chant' was buried in the church, 17 November 1627.

36 *Harleian* 44 (1914)\*. Bridget was buried 24 February 1630. John Parker's will, Prob.11/181, sig. 142, dated 14 May 1639 refers to his marriage agreement of 28 May 1634.

37 Keene & Harding (1987), 654 & Fig. P. The combined frontage of John and Joseph's houses in St Pancras Lane (Needlers Lane) was about 60ft (18.3m). Rents from Dale (1931)\*.

38 *Harleian* 44 (1914)\*. He was about 44 years of age.

39 James Parker exported a range of wares to New England on 17 Feb. 1639/40, E190/43/1.

40 During the 1630s when Spain was at war with France and the United Provinces, table linen from Kortrijk was exported to the Iberian Peninsula in neutral English shipping through the Dover entrepôt. The authorities in Brussels instituted in 1632 a system of passports to accompany these shipments. Copies were entered in a '*Register van passeporten*', Kortrijk, Rijksarchief OSAK 620. The documents gave the forwarding agents in Dunkirk and Dover as well as the consignees in Spain or Portugal. There are indications that some, at least, of these shipments passed through Lille (f.74). Certainly this was the case later in the century with passports in 1677 typically including, '*manufacture de Courtray pour passer par Transit de Lille a Dunquerque pour Angleterre*', OSAK 3.179, Doc. 6, 1v.

Joseph's will of 1642 noted that Mark was 'now residing in Rotterdam in Holland'.<sup>41</sup> In both 1634 and 1640, about 80 per cent of their exports were woollen cloths, predominantly perpetuanas, to Flanders.<sup>42</sup> In both years knitted hose was also sent to Spanish ports. Apart from linens, which in 1633 had a customs valuation of £6,325, their imports included 'lyles', 'mocado ends', tapestry and hops.<sup>43</sup>

Despite the size of his trade and considerable wealth John Parker held office in neither the Haberdashers' Company nor the City. Further, although he had close friends among the English merchants that were prominent among Brenner's 'New Merchant Elite', he does not appear to have been involved in their interloping activities. Foremost amongst these friends were Thomas Atkins and John Dethick; the latter, who was described by Parker as both 'my loving friend' and 'my cozen', was actively involved with William Courteene, the son of Sir William, and Maurice Thompson in interloping against the East India Company.<sup>44</sup>

Unlike his elder brother, Joseph Parker was involved in City politics, serving as a common councillor and was also closely linked to the 'New Merchants', being married to Anne Joliffe, John Joliffe's sister and Randall Mainwaring's niece, both leading traders with the Americas. Apart from Flanders, Joseph also traded with the colonies importing some 8,500 lbs of Virginia tobacco in 1640.<sup>45</sup> From his will, it is clear that Joseph shared his brother John's religious views and from 1640 until his death in 1643 was an enthusiastic supporter of Parliament.<sup>46</sup> His widow Anne subsequently married John Dethick.

*b) Merchant Adventurers importing Sletia diaper, 1580-1640*

From the late sixteenth century, the trade in Sletia diaper and other German linens had characteristics that were quite distinct from the linen trade with the Low Countries. It was concentrated in the hands of substantial merchant adventurers, several of whom were engaged directly, or through agents in the production of linens, rather than simply in their trade. Wolf-Rüdiger Baumann in his study of the adventurers, prepared largely from German sources, describes these developments in some detail and gives biographies of English merchants trading in Germany outside the mart towns.<sup>47</sup> As early as 1579, there had been complaints from Hanseatic merchants that the 'Merchant Adventurers were buying up linen at high prices in town and country, and that the members of the League

41 Prob.11/192, sig. 21. Will of Joseph Parker, dated 15 Oct 1642. Mark Parker was, like his brother John, free of the Haberdasher's Company. Guildhall 15860/4, Mark Parker, bound 2 Aug 1611 for 9 years.

42 E190/38/7, 1634, John Parker, value £2,290. E190/43/1, 1640, Joseph Parker, value £2,618.

43 E190/38/1, 1633. The Parkers' imports included £1,021 of lyles and mocado ends, £783 of tapestry with silk and with caddas, and £196 of hops. Lille was a major weaving centre of various 'new diaperies', including *changéants* or *grosgrains*, see Du Plessis & Howell (1982). The 1604 Book of Rates gave valuations for 'Mockadowes or Lyle grosgraines', etc. E122/173/3.

44 Brenner (1993), 175.

45 Brenner (1993), 138 and note 82.

46 *Harleian* 44 (1914)\*, buried 25 May 1643.

47 Baumann (1990), 182-194 and 327-364.

could no longer compete'. In Emden there were English linen brokers who dealt with large quantities of Münster linen and corresponded with the City Council about defects in quality. Around 1600, three Englishmen settled in Münster to trade in linen, two of them subsequently becoming citizens.<sup>48</sup> In the 'linen crescent' - running through Upper Lusatia, northern and north eastern Bohemia, Saxony and Silesia - the studies of Aubin and Kunze showed a similar, if not greater merchant engagement with production. Baumann summarises their findings as follows,

Of the foreigners, the English in particular became serious competitors for the German merchants. They had business ties to local dealers, such as commission business, and put out work to the weavers; . . .

Like the Nuremberg merchants (such as Viatis and Peller), the English were interested in general control of production and usually oriented it . . . by means of putting out contracts with guilds. Through long-term supply contracts, with prefinancing of the raw materials, the weavers were obliged to keep up a specified output, production bottlenecks were avoided, and an improvement in quality of the finished products was achieved.<sup>49</sup>

The linen centre in western Saxony was Chemnitz and in 1597, William Baldwin negotiated the first supply contract with the *Hauptlade* (guild district) for 500 pieces of coarse light linen and 700 hand towels. The English together with the Dutch were the main customers for towels and tablecloths in Chemnitz and production increased from 837 pieces in 1599-1600 to 2,748 in 1604-5.<sup>50</sup>

In Upper Lusatia, Görlitz, which later in the century was to become an important centre for the weaving of linen damask, was also a base for the English. Thomas Keightley [Keytleyn] represented Edward Weston in Görlitz in 1607 and by 1612 was trading there on his own account, signing a contract with the weavers and maintaining his own factor, Thomas Roger. Between 1620 and 1640 Keightley was a regular importer of Sletia diaper into London (Table 5.9). In 1642 he was described in Görlitz as a 'prominent businessman from London'. Just over the border in Silesia, five Englishmen attended the funeral of the London merchant Thomas Cheswright at Greiffenberg in 1616, implying a similar English involvement in the trade there.<sup>51</sup>

Linens from these centres in Saxony and Silesia were transported along the Elbe to Hamburg for shipment to London. The organisation of the Merchant Adventurers' Company in Hamburg was modelled upon that in Antwerp. There were more than a

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48 Baumann (1990), 183-4.

49 Baumann (1990), 186.

50 Kunze (1958), cited in Baumann (1990), 188.

51 Baumann (1990), 189.

hundred English merchants in Hamburg on its re-establishment as the mart town in 1611.<sup>52</sup> A glimpse into this world is given in the papers of William Attwood who traded both through Hamburg and the Adventurers' marts in Holland.<sup>53</sup> Attwood, the son of an Essex gentleman, was apprenticed to Nicholas Backhouse, mercer and merchant adventurer, for eight years from June 1625.<sup>54</sup> Towards the end of his apprenticeship it is likely that he was in Hamburg, where from 1634 he served as a factor for some London merchants and traded in partnership with others. In 1635 and 1636 he noted the 'Petty Charges' on Hugh Windham and George Hawkins' account relating to their trade in Sletia diapers. Attwood arranged and paid for the diapers to be taken to the bleach at Stade, then to be calendered, folded, and packed, and finally to be transported to the wharf and loaded aboard the merchantman for London. The costs included incidentals such as the 'leading' of each piece with lead seals, the payment of duties and tolls, and 'drincking money' for the bleachers.<sup>55</sup> At this period Hugh Windham was one of the principal importers of German linens including Sletia diaper into London (Table 5.9).

Attwood also listed charges against the accounts in which he had a share, for example that with Walter Pell 'in fourths', three-quarters for Pell and a quarter for himself, and that in eighths with Mr Pell and Mr [Ralph?] Sarocold.<sup>56</sup> During the 1650s, he was trading on some scale in several partnerships with relatives in London.<sup>57</sup> Towards 1660 he returned

52 Baumann (1990), 148-9.

53 PRO, C109/19-24.

54 C109/19 Bundle 2, Apprentice indenture.

55 C109/20, 'William Palmer his Booke', 1636:-

		li.	s.	d.**
June 8	pd. for whiting 36 ps. of whole Dyaper at 6s 8d per ps. and 75 ps dyaper napkening at 5s 4d per pc.	32	0	0
	pd for callindringe 75 ps napking at 6d & 36 ps Tableing at 8d per pc.	3	1	4
	pd for packing a packe of Dyaper wt matts ropes straw & bonds	1	4	4
July 20	for taking out the dyapers out the fatt no 50 & leading them		1	4
July 26	cartage to the Crane of 6C. [chests]		4	0
	cranage of them		2	0
	tole out	1	6	0
	Inwinding aborde		4	0
	Tole at luckstat	6	0	0

\*\*Currency, 35s Hamburg = £1 sterling

56 C109/20, Part 1, 13 & 27.

57 C109/19, Bundle 2; Co-partnership agreement, 'William Atwood of Hamborough, Walter Hampton and William Strange' - for the export of woollen cloths and was in third shares. Bundle 6, 1654, 'A calculation for the prtable Acct.', with Hampton and Walter Pell. C109/24. Bond 1656, Hampton and Attwood, 'co-partners in trade', borrowed £10,000 from Walter Pell. Mary, the widow of William Hampton married Walter Pell when Walter Hampton and his sister Mary were children. Attwood married Mary Hampton. Their daughter Ann married Edward Halford and another daughter, Mary,



to London, leaving his affairs in Hamburg in the hands of Edward Holford and a former apprentice William Palmer. Attwood shipped woollen cloths to Holford and received in exchange linens, brass and latten wire, and specie. The linens consisted of quantities of cheap cloth which he sold to linen drapers in London, often giving credit terms of several months.<sup>58</sup> Attwood occasionally imported Sletia diaper to fulfil a particular request from family or friends: typically from Thomas Thynne 'for dyaper bespoke for his Sister'. These diapers were supplied either by the Hamburg merchant, Melchior Wolfendine or by the English merchants, William Edline and William Christmas junior.<sup>59</sup> Unlike colleagues such as Keightley, there is no indication within his papers that Attwood was directly involved in the production of linen in Saxony and Silesia.

Among the larger enterprises, partnerships such as Attwood's were common with a merchant having a share in several partnerships simultaneously. These could be, but were not necessarily concerned with different types of trade: for example, the export of woollen cloth to Holland or the import of linens from Germany.<sup>60</sup> The existence of these partnerships makes the reconstruction of a merchant's overall trade from the port books well-nigh impossible as the consignees were invariably listed as individuals.<sup>61</sup> Of the four leading merchant adventurers importing Sletia diaper between 1620 and 1640 - Hugh Windham, Henry Boothby, Thomas Keightley and William Christmas - two of them, Boothby and Christmas exported in excess of £2,000 of woollens and other goods to Hamburg in 1634, whilst Windham and Keightley apparently exported nothing, their exports presumably being entered in the names of their partners.<sup>62</sup>

Apart from 1666, the year of the Great Fire, William Attwood calculated the value of his 'estate' annually. This totalled some £20,000.<sup>63</sup> Keightley, Windham, Christmas, Andrews and Boothby had a similar order of wealth. All save Boothby served as both masters of their respective livery companies and as aldermen. In addition, Windham was created a baronet in 1641 and Andrews was knighted by the Lord Protector in 1657. They were all included among the 'Inhabitants ... of the best estate' in the survey of 1640 and contributed to one or both of the Crown loans of 1640 and 1641. Generally they came

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Josiah Child as her second husband. Refer to the wills of Pell and Attwood. Prob.11/340, sig. 112, and C109/20, Part I.

58 C109/21 Part 2, Large Ledger 1654-63.

59 C109/21 Part 1, Ledger 1663, 29, 67 & 69. Part 2, Large Ledger 1654-63, 5, 25 & 52.

60 There were also partnerships between partnerships, e.g. co-partnership agreement of 1689 between Joseph Penington and John Phipps in Hamburg, and Anthony Bedingfield [Biddulph] and Robert Lowther in London for the export of white Worcester cloth. C109/19, Bundle 2.

61 In E190/38/1, English Merchants imports, 1633, there were just four partnerships listed.

62 E190/7 English Merchants exports 1634. Henry Boothby's exports to Hamburg totalled £2,244 and Christmas's £2,169, both mainly in perpetuanas.

63 C109/21 Parts I and II, Ledgers.

from gentry backgrounds, were apprenticed to prominent merchant adventurers and made 'good' marriages (Table 5.10).<sup>64</sup>

c) *Merchant strangers importing 'Holland' and Sletia table linen, 1580-1640*

The 'Dutch' merchants importing table linen came from two distinct backgrounds. Some were from the Antwerp merchant elite who following the entrepôt's demise scattered throughout northern and western Europe, establishing businesses in trading centres such as Emden, Stade, Hamburg, Danzig, Amsterdam and London.<sup>65</sup> Others were from families of tradesmen from the manufacturing towns of West Flanders that turned to overseas trade after their arrival in London. The leading merchant strangers were often elders or deacons of the Dutch Church at Austin Friars which they used as a political as well as a spiritual home, and coincidentally a forum where an individual's 'credit' - his probity, integrity and financial worth - could be established. The Church cultivated English sympathisers at Court and in the City to protect their interests. The merchant strangers married not just within their own community but often the daughters or widows of colleagues trading in the same goods. They also took boys from stranger families as apprentices.

At any particular time, their trade in Holland damask and diaper was dominated by three or four merchants and that in Sletia diaper by just one or two (Tables 5.11 and 5.12). It is noticeable that napery was imported from the southern ports, in Flanders or France, by different merchants than that from the northern ports, in Zeeland or Holland. The exceptions were William Courteene the elder, Peter Jacobs, and occasionally Andreas Boeve and John Rushout who imported parcels from both southern and northern ports. Early in the century, most of the merchants trading from the southern ports had been born in the linen towns of West Flanders, either in Kortrijk or in its vicinity (Table 5.13). They were from craft as well as merchant backgrounds: Andreas Boeve was living in London in 1582 with his father 'John Bovy, a turner'; William Courteene was the son of a tailor and was initially noted in London in 1571 as a 'maker of silk cawles'; whilst Lewes van Dam was probably a descendant of Wouter van Damme, a merchant dealing in damask in Kortrijk in 1550, who it appears was in London in 1576.<sup>66</sup> There was a distinct change in the leading personalities about 1625 when Andreas and Lewes Boeve, Lewes van Dam and Daniel van Harinckhoek all died leaving their trade in the hands of their respective widows, who were recorded among those importing napery in 1627. Andreas' son William Boeve, born in London in 1603, subsequently took over from his mother, and was the largest importer in 1629. During the 1630s, the major player was John Casteel who had been born in Norwich of a Walloon merchant family, and unlike the majority of his

64 For significance of dowries, see Earle (1989), 141. The dowries (jointures) provided by Attwood were £1,500 to Edward Holford and £3,000 to Josiah Child.

65 For detailed discussion of the merchant strangers in London and their trade, see Mitchell (1995C).

66 Sabbe (1975), I, 289.

competitors was a member of the French Church in Threadneedle Street, rather than the Dutch Church at Austin Friars (Table 5.11).

The merchant strangers trading in Holland damask and diaper from the Dutch ports and in Sletia diaper from Hamburg, Stade or Amsterdam were usually from merchant families. Some were born either in Antwerp or in the towns of the Flemish diaspora (Tables 5.13 & 5.14). Others, although born in Flanders seem to have been from merchant backgrounds, for example Seagar Corsellis born in Roeselare and Daniel van Hasevelt in Ronse. At different times both lived in Michael Corsellis' house in London, Seagar who was Michael's younger brother as an apprentice, and Daniel probably as a junior partner.<sup>67</sup> Michael Corsellis seems to have been apprenticed to an Antwerp merchant, possibly Jan de Bruyne van Aelst whom he served as factor in London.<sup>68</sup>

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<sup>67</sup> Kirk & Kirk (1900)\*, ii, 242 & iii, 69. Daniel paid £100 towards the Privy Seal Loan in 1600, which suggests that he was Michael's partner and not his apprentice.

<sup>68</sup> Brulez (1959), 541.

TABLE 5.10 MAJOR IMPORTERS OF NAPERY: ENGLISH MERCHANTS, PERSONAL DETAILS

Name	Livery Company	Father's status	RANK/POSITION		CHARTERED COMPANIES				Date of death	Rent in 1638	Crown Loans 1640 & 1641 £
			Livery Company	Other	Merch. Adv.	EIC	Levant	Virg. or Mass. Bay			
IMPORTERS OF HOLLAND DAMASK AND DIAPER											
William COURTEEN	-	Stranger	-	Kt. 1622	-	-	-	-	1636	80	N/A
John PARKER	Haberdasher	Yeoman	-	-	✓	-	-	-	1639	53	N/A
Joseph PARKER	Skinner	Yeoman	-	Co. Co.	✓	-	-	?	1643	25	- / -
William WILLIAMS	Draper	Merchant	?	Ald. 1652	✓	✓	✓	-	c. 1662	50	100/1000
James COLLENT	-	Stranger	-	-	-	-	-	-	1648	?	- / -
IMPORTERS OF SLETIA DAMASK AND DIAPER											
Thomas KEIGHTLEY	Skinner	Gentleman	Master 1641	Ald. 1641	✓	✓	-	✓	1663	25	400/1000
Hugh WINDHAM	Ironmonger	Gentleman	Master 1638	Ald. 1642 Bart. 1641	✓	✓	-	✓	1663	?	400/1000
Henry BOOTHBY	Haberdasher	Merchant?	-	-	✓	✓	✓	-	?	44	100 / -
William CHRISTMAS	Draper	Gentleman?	Master 1650	Ald. 1649	✓	-	-	-	1652	40	100 / -
Thomas ANDREWS	Leatherseller	Merchant	Master 1638	Ald. 1642 Kt. 1657	✓	✓	-	✓	1659	?	- / 1000

Notes: Prepared from Beaven (1913), Dale (1931)\*, Rabb (1967), wills and church records.

TABLE 5.11 'HOLLAND' DAMASK AND DIAPER IMPORTS BY MERCHANT STRANGERS, 1600-1640: INDIVIDUAL PROPORTIONS OF TRADE  
(Figures in percentages of total Holland damask and diaper imports by merchant strangers)

NAME	YEAR																	
	1599 <sup>c</sup> -1600	1609 <sup>a</sup>	1610 <sup>a</sup>	1611 <sup>b</sup>	1613 <sup>b</sup>	1615 <sup>a</sup>	1616 <sup>a</sup>	1617 <sup>a</sup>	1618 <sup>a</sup>	1619 <sup>b</sup>	1622 <sup>a</sup>	1624 <sup>a</sup>	1627 <sup>a</sup>	1629 <sup>a</sup>	1631 <sup>a</sup>	1632 <sup>a</sup>	1633 <sup>a</sup>	1636 <sup>a</sup>
MERCHANTS - Shipping mainly from southern ports: Dunkirk, Newport, Calais																		
William COURTEENE	45	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Andreas BOVE	-	41	44	38	25	45	56	71	64	49	64	40	12 <sup>d</sup>	-	-	-	-	-
Lewes BOVE	-	10	6	6	8	33	3	1	<1	-	3	4	4 <sup>e</sup>	-	-	-	-	-
Arnold GARRETES	-	-	-	9	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Joem MATHERS	-	-	-	-	10	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Matthew HAZZARD	-	-	-	-	23	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Giles van BRUG	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	18	40	9	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Peter de VOS	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	11	4	-	-	-	-	-	-
Francys MYCHELLS	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	9	-	-	-	-	-	-
Peter HEARNE	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	11	-	-	-	-	-	-
Lewes van DAM	-	-	-	-	-	<1	-	1	-	-	-	2	10 <sup>f</sup>	-	-	-	-	-
John RUSHOUT	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	6	-	14	-
Peter SOANE	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	<1	12	3	-	7
William BOVE	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	39	8	-	-	9
John CASTELL	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	15	24	74	46	46
Jacob WACKTER	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	15
MERCHANTS - Shipping mainly from northern ports: Middelburg, Flushing, Veere, Rotterdam, Dort, Delft, Amsterdam																		
Peter JACOBS	32	8	6	15	-	2	9	5	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Roger van HERWICK	8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Seagar CORSELLIS	-	19	20	15	10	-	6	10	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Henry PAULS	-	-	7	-	3	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
John LUCY	-	-	-	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
John NULLS	-	-	-	-	8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Frauncys TERRANCE	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	6	3	5	7	18	-	-	-	5	-
John van DALE	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	24	-	-	-	-	-
Eliz. van HERRINGHOOKE	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	30	-	-	-	-	-
Peter DOLINS	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	23	3	-	-
SUBTOTAL %	85	78	83	89	93	80	74	93	95	92	97	77	98	66	73	80	65	77
OTHERS %	15	22	17	11	7	20	26	7	5	8	3	23	2	34	27	20	35	23
TOTAL %	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
NO. OF CONSIGNEES	11	14	19	14	14	17	12	15	14	8	11	14	7	12	12	11	12	11
VALUATION <sup>g</sup> £	380	2570	1860	1190	1480	780	900	2200	1860	920	880	900	270	870	1720	760	1590	1640

Notes: a Christmas to Christmas, i.e. 12 months  
f Susan van Dam

b Lady Day to Michaelmas, i.e. 6 months

c Michaelmas to Michaelmas

d Joanna Bove

e Mary Bove

g Valuations are not strictly comparable - a new Book of Rates was issued in 1604

TABLE 5.12 SLETIA DIAPER<sup>b</sup> IMPORTS BY MERCHANT STRANGERS, 1600-1640: INDIVIDUAL PROPORTIONS OF TRADE  
(Figures are percentages of total Sletia diaper imports by merchant strangers)

NAME		YEAR									
		1609	1613 <sup>a</sup>	1615	1616	1617	1618	1622	1624	1631	1633
Daniel van	HASEVELT	4 <sup>G</sup>	48 <sup>U&amp;C</sup>	-	-	1 <sup>U</sup>	5 <sup>U</sup>	-	-	-	-
Henry	DISTELLS	95 <sup>G</sup>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Jasper	QUOYMANS	<1 <sup>U</sup>	10 <sup>U</sup>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
John	MOUNCEY	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Abr.	RUSHOULT	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Sam. de	VISSCHER	-	30 <sup>U</sup>	72 <sup>U</sup>	60 <sup>U</sup>	68 <sup>U</sup>	67 <sup>U</sup>	-	-	-	-
Ciprian	GABRY	-	12 <sup>G</sup>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
John de	RATE	-	-	12 <sup>U</sup>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Peter	JACOBS	-	-	16 <sup>U</sup>	37 <sup>N</sup>	-	-	31 <sup>U</sup>	-	-	-
John	SAS	-	-	-	-	18 <sup>U</sup>	27 <sup>U</sup>	6 <sup>U</sup>	-	-	-
Vincent	SEAGARS	-	-	-	-	-	-	34 <sup>U</sup>	-	-	-
John van	GALE	-	-	-	-	-	-	28 <sup>U</sup>	78 <sup>G</sup>	-	-
Peter	DOLINS	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	22 <sup>U</sup>	-	-
Abram van	CAUTER	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	73 <sup>N</sup>	87 <sup>U</sup>
Wm. de	VISHER	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	27 <sup>N</sup>	-
Adam	LAWRENCE	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	9 <sup>U</sup>
SUBTOTAL %		99	100	100	97	97	99	99	100	100	96
OTHERS %		1	-	-	3	3	1	1	-	-	4
TOTAL %		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
NO. OF CONSIGNEES		4	5	3	4	6	5	5	2	2	3
VALUATION £		980	550	690	470	410	580	290	490	320	200

**Notes:**

- a Lady Day (25 March) to Michaelmas (29 September), i.e. 6 months. All other periods are Christmas to Christmas, i.e. 12 months.  
b Some very small quantities of Sletia danask shipped in 1611, 1617 and 1618. There were further shipments of Sletia diaper in 1610 (£140), 1611 (£230), 1619 (£230), and 1629 (£30).

G Shipments from Germany.

U Shipments from the United Provinces.

N Not known.



TABLE 5.13 PRINCIPAL MERCHANT STRANGERS IMPORTING 'HOLLAND' DAMASK AND DIAPER 1580-1640: PERSONAL DETAILS

NAME (Common spelling in Port Books)	NAME (In Church records)	BIRTH- PLACE	DUTCH CHURCH MEMBERSHIP*			STATUS	WIFE
			Member	Deacon	Elder		
MERCHANTS - Shipping mainly from southern ports: Dunkirk, Newport and Calais							
William COURTEENE the elder	COURTEN	Menen, Flanders	1573	1574	1586	Denizen	Margaret Casier of Menen
Andreas BOVE	BOEVE	Kortrijk, Flanders	1586	1603	-	Denizen	Joanna de Wilde of London
Lewes BOVE	BOEVE	Kortrijk, Flanders	1585	-	-	Denizen	Mary van Haverbeke of Haarlem
Joem MATHERS	MATTHEUS	Breda, Brabant	1591	-	-	[Public Notary]	Sara Glijpsen of London
Giles van BRUG	BRUGH	Haarlem, Holland	1615	1624	1630	Denizen	Maria Jacobs of London (f. Peter)
Peter de VOS	Pieter	Beyond the sea	1610	-	-	Denizen	Helena . . .
Francys MYCHELLS	MICHELIS		1608	-	-	Denizen	Josina Boeve of London (f. Lewes)
Peter HEARNE	HEEREN	Ronse, Flanders	1615	-	-	Denizen	Catharine Bolle of Sandwich
Lewes van DAM	DAMME	Kortrijk, Flanders	1613	-	-	Merchant Stranger	Susanna Stevens of London
John RUSHOUT	Jan	Kortrijk, Flanders	1620	1632	1641	Merchant Stranger	Abigail Godschalck of London
Peter SOANE	SOEN	Flanders	1620	-	-	Merchant Stranger	1. Catarina . . . 2. Susanna vanden Bosche of London
William BOVE	BOEVE	London (f. Andreas)	Dutch	1638	1651	English born	Anne . . .
John CASTELL	CASTEL	Norwich	French	?	?	English born	Anne . . .
Jacob WACKTER	de WACHTER	London ?	1627	-	-	Naturalised 1657	Susanna . . .
MERCHANTS - Shipping mainly, from northern ports: Middelburg, Flushing, Veere, Rotterdam, Dort, Delft and Amsterdam							
Peter JACOBS	JACOBSZ	Antwerp, Brabant	1577	1595	1601	Denizen	1. Maenken s' Martelars of Oudenarde 2. Sara Janssen of London
Roger van HERWICK	HERWEGHE	Bruges Flanders	1585?	1603	-	Stranger Silktwister	1. Catelijne . . . 2. Ester Beeckman of London
Seagar CORSELLIS	CORSELIS	Roeselare, Flanders	1581	1594	1601	Denizen	Joice van Acker of Antwerp
Henry PAULS	PAUWELS	Dalen, Friesland	1596	1624	1632	Denizen	Magdalena Beste of Bruges
John LUCY	LUCE	Antwerp, Brabant	1606	1612	1616	Merchant Stranger	Anna Corselis of London (f. Seagar)
John NULLS	NULS	London	1606	-	-	English born	?
Frauncys TERRANCE	TIERENS	Beyond the sea	1606	-	-	Merchant Stranger	Elizabeth ...
John van DALE	Jan	Kortrijk, Flanders	?	-	-	Merchant Stranger	Elizabeth Dorpers of London
Daniel van HERRINGHOOKE	HARINCKHOEK	Sandwich	1596	1610	1612	English born	Elizabeth Godschalck of London

\* Except for John Castell, a member of the French Church

TABLE 5.14 PRINCIPAL MERCHANT STRANGERS IMPORTING SLETIA DIAPER, 1580-1640:  
PERSONAL DETAILS

NAME (Common spelling in Port Books)	NAME (In Church records)	BIRTH- PLACE	DUTCH CHURCH MEMBERSHIP			STATUS	WIFE
			Member	Deacon	Elder		
Daniel van HASEVELT	HASEVELDT	Ronse, Flanders	1585	1599	-	Merchant Stranger	1. Janneken Beeckmans of London 2. Mary Gerardron 3. Catherine Sas
John MOUNCEY	de MONCIJ	Ieper, Flanders	1597	1612	1621	Naturalised 1610	Magriete Courten of London, wid. of Matthijs Boudaen
Abraham RUSHOULT	RUSSOUT	Gent, Flanders	1608	-	-	Merchant Stranger	Catherine de Wale of Engelmunster
Samuel de VISSCHER	VISSCHER	Emden, E.Friesland	?	1609	1640	Denizen	2. Ester Clockaert, wid. of Jan Abeels
Ciprian GABRY	GABRIJ	Antwerp, Brabant	?	-	-	Merchant Stranger	Anna Malepart of Ghent
Peter JACOBS	JACOBSZ	Antwerp, Brabant	1577?	1595	1601	Denizen	1. Maekens s'Martelars of Oudenarde 2. Sara Janssen of London
John SAS	SASS	?	1580?	-	-	Merchant Stranger	Cath . . .
John van GALE	GHELE	London	1603	-	-	English born	?
Abram van CAUTER	van der CAUTER	Haarlem, Holland	1613	-	-	Merchant Stranger	Joanna Godtschalck wid. of Jaques Veruin
William de VISSCHER	VISSCHER	Emden, E.Friesland	1617	1632	1639	Naturalised 1660	Cornelia de Visscher of Amsterdam
Adam LAWRENCE	LAURENS	London	1609	1628	1632	Denizen	Judith van den Brugghe of Norwich

Although there was no formal guild system among the strangers, it seems that training was similar to that for English boys: a formal apprenticeship including a time served abroad as a factor, followed by a period as a journeyman or junior partner with an established merchant, before the start of a career either as a sole trader or in a more equal partnership.

Andreas Boeve had come to London from Kortrijk at the age of six. Despite his father's trade as a turner, Andreas was apparently apprenticed to a merchant, for in 1594 he was living in Mincing Lane with Adrian de Poorter, an Antwerp merchant who had come to London in 1565 'for religion'.<sup>69</sup> The previous year Poorter's household had included 'an apprentice of 22 years', presumably Andreas Boeve.<sup>70</sup> By 1599, he was living with Peter van Loor in Fenchurch Street, possibly as a junior partner for he was assessed separately for the lay subsidy. Further, both contributed towards the loan of February 1601 when the crown raised £21,900 from the strangers, van Loor providing £500 and Boeve £50.<sup>71</sup> At

<sup>69</sup> Kirk & Kirk (1900)\*, ii, 269.

<sup>70</sup> In his will of 1625, Prob.11/149, sig. 99, Andreas Boeve stated he was 57, i.e. born in 1568, which would have made him 25 in 1593. However, accurate dating was not a feature of sixteenth century records - in 1571 Adrian de Poorter was said to have come to London six years previously, in 1565, but in 1593 had been in the city for 26 years, i.e. since 1567.

<sup>71</sup> Peter van Loor became a major financier lending an estimated £35,000 to James I, Grell (1989), 4. He was one of the very few strangers before the Civil War to be naturalised and to be knighted.

about this time, Boeve married and established both his own household and trade; his first child was baptised in May 1601, he was elected deacon of the Dutch Church in 1603 and became a denizen the following year.<sup>72</sup> By 1609, he was among the principal merchant strangers in the linen trade importing some £5,400 of goods (Table 5.1). For the next fifteen years Andreas Boeve dominated the import trade in damasks and diapers (Table 5.11). These table linens were a notable proportion of his business, representing in 1609, some 40 per cent of his imports of linen cloth and 20 per cent of his total trade. Despite a wide knowledge of international trade and finance through his apprenticeship with Adrian de Poorter and association with Peter van Loor, he concentrated his own trade in the Spanish Netherlands, presumably utilising local networks established through personal family connections with the entrepreneurs and merchants of both Kortrijk and the neighbouring linen markets of Iseghem, Roeselare and Menen.

Traces of other apprenticeships emerge from similar documents. Roger Turlott [Huerlot] from Iseghem who like Boeve traded in Flemish linens, was servant to Hans Wouters in 1599. Wouters was a wealthy merchant of international experience who had arrived from Brussels in 1564.<sup>73</sup> Turlott rapidly established his own trade and in 1607 married Rachel, the daughter of Michael Corsellis. In 1609, Turlott was among the leading importers of linens (Table 5.5). In contrast to Boeve and Turlott, Abram Beard [Baert] traded in Dutch linens from the Zeeland and Holland ports (Table 5.6). He was apprenticed to Peter Jacobs [or Jacobson] who came from an Antwerp merchant family and also traded largely through the northern ports (Table 5.5).<sup>74</sup>

The merchant strangers were concerned that their childrens' education should fit them for their apprenticeship and subsequent trade. In 1638 when the Dutch Church proposed to appoint a cantor/schoolmaster, candidates were sought who could teach writing and arithmetic, and in addition English, French and Dutch.<sup>75</sup> Such a syllabus and its availability to girls may suggest why considerably more Dutch than English women continued to run linen import businesses after the deaths of their husbands. It was customary for the widow of a London merchant to wind up her late husband's estate or to continue his trade until she either remarried or her son was capable of assuming the responsibility. There are a few examples of English widows trading in linen such as Ellinor Nicolson and Catharine Pomfret, although the scale of their trade was very modest.<sup>76</sup> In contrast, there are several merchant strangers' widows who operated on a considerable scale. Margaret Courteene traded for at least six years after William's death, importing linen cloth valued at £3,200 in 1609 (Table 5.5). At the same time her two sons

72 Moens (1884)\*, Shaw (1911)\*.

73 Kirk & Kirk (1900)\*, ii, 85, 190, 213, 232, 239; iii, 68.

74 In his will Prob.11/144, sig. 117 of 23 June 1623 Peter Jacobson left £2, 'to Abraham Baert at this present my servant'.

75 See Grell (1989), 113.

76 E190/31/3, Ellinor Nicolson, 1626; E190/38/1 Catha. Pomfret, 1633.

William and Peter, and her son-in-law Jan de Moncij were apparently trading in a separate partnership. Similarly, albeit for only two years, Joanna Boeve continued Andreas' trade before she handed over to her son William in 1627. The widows of Lewes Boeve, Lewes van Dam, Peter Soen the elder, Ciprian Gabry and Daniel van Harinckhoek also continued their late husbands' trade.<sup>77</sup>

It may be that the incidence of trading in partnerships was higher among English merchants than the merchant strangers which would have obviated the need for many widows to become involved. Nevertheless, the contemporary view was that the widows of merchant strangers had the ability to trade owing to their education and were encouraged to do so by the social attitudes of the stranger community. In 1668, Sir Josiah Child wrote of the reasons for the 'Netherlanders' success,

The education of their children, as well Daughters as Sons, all which, be they of never so great quality or estate, they always take care to bring up to write perfect good hands, and to have full knowledge and use of *Arithemetick* and Merchants Accompts; the well understanding and practice whereof, doth strangely infuse into most that are the owners of that quality; of either Sex, not onely an ability for commerce of all kinds, but a strong aptitude, love, and delight in it; and regard the women are as knowing therein as the men, it doth incourage their Husbands to hold on in their Trades to their dying days, knowing the capacity of their wives to get in their Estates, and carry on their Trades after their Deaths.<sup>78</sup>

### 5.3 *MERCHANTS IMPORTING TABLE LINEN, 1660-1700*

#### a) *Merchants importing 'Holland' damask and diaper*

After the Restoration, little damask and diaper was imported from the Low Countries by merchant strangers and the few significant parcels entered in the merchant stranger port books were consigned to foreign ambassadors.<sup>79</sup> Among the English importers, however, were a number of merchants from stranger families who were legally English, either by naturalisation or by birth in England to denizens (Table 5.18).

The overall pattern of trade was akin to that earlier in the century, with similar quantities of napery being imported largely from the Spanish Netherlands (Table 4.1) and with three or four merchants dominant in any particular year (Table 5.15). The principal players over an

<sup>77</sup> Table linen shipments to Susan van Dam, Joanna Bove, Mary Bove and Elizabeth Herringhooke were recorded in 1627, E190/30/2. Of the 55 merchant stranger contributors to the 'Pirate Money' dated 10 August 1626, six were women. A list of the Merchants of the Intercourse of 1628 (i.e. strangers who were not denizens) had four 'widdows' out of thirty-nine. Hessels (1887)\*, III, nos 1855 & 1904.

<sup>78</sup> Child (1668)\*.

<sup>79</sup> E.g. E190/53/4, 4 May 1671, from Ostend to the Venetian Agent, napery valued at £297; E190/66/2, 23 March 1676/7 from Ostend to Spanish Ambassador, includes 6 'suits Damask tabling'.

extended period were John Hillersden and Alexander Pope. Little is known of Hillersden but Pope has attracted some attention. Alexander Pope was born about 1642 and is said to have served as a factor in Lisbon where he converted to Roman Catholicism. By 1672, he was established in London and in 1677 was recorded in the *Little London Directory* in Broad Street. His first wife died in 1679 and following his second marriage to Edith Turner he moved to Lombard Street. He drove a considerable trade during the 1680s, importing for example in 1685 fifteen parcels of napery from Flanders valued at £4,300 and plain linen at £1,380.<sup>80</sup> In 1688, his son, the poet Alexander Pope was born and the family subsequently retired to Binfield in Windsor Forest.<sup>81</sup> In a typically witty line, Pope nicely reflected both his father's faith and trade: 'A saint in crape is twice a saint in lawn'.

TABLE 5.15 LOW COUNTRIES DAMASK AND DIAPER IMPORTS BY ENGLISH MERCHANTS. 1670-1700: INDIVIDUAL PROPORTIONS OF TRADE  
(Figures are percentage of total English Merchant 'Holland' damask and diaper imports)

NAME		YEAR										
		1672	1676	1677	1678	1680	1681	1682	1683	1685	1686	1696
John	JONES	27	14	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
John	TUDMAN	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Nath.	LETTEN	17	11	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Alex.	POPE	2	14	22	20	22	43	37	24	34	37	-
Leo.	ROBINSON	9	2	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-
James	PICKERING	9	5	13	11	<1	-	4	-	-	-	-
Will.	SCAWEN	4	<1	-	-	9	4	13	19	13	7	-
Simon	HOET	3	4	-	7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Peter	KESTERMAN	<1	-	-	-	15	-	-	-	-	-	-
Sam.	POWELL	<1	-	-	-	-	-	2	4	-	-	-
Josiah	FEAK	-	10	11	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Rich.	CROSMAN	-	19	24	19	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
John	BOYCE	-	-	10	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
John	SMITH	-	-	<1	-	-	-	<1	8	<1	-	-
John	HILLERSDEN	-	-	-	18	37	32	17	-	23	20	12
John	LAMB	-	-	-	17	<1	9	2	19	-	-	-
Anth.	STORER	-	-	-	-	10	-	-	-	-	-	-
John	WALLER	-	-	-	-	-	-	14	7	7	8	6
John	BART	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	18
Chris.	HAMILTON	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	-	-	-
Tho.	SCAWEN	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	-	11
John	FITZGERALD	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7	-
Will.	PURNALL	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	<1	10
Rich.	SOUTHWELL	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	15
Sam.	FLUDYER	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8
SUBTOTAL %		77	79	86	96	93	88	92	86	81	79	80
OTHERS %		23	21	14	4	7	12	8	14	19	21	20
TOTAL %		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
NO. OF CONSIGNEES		30	27	29	14	22	20	31	28	24	32	37
VALUATION £		9960	6080	4330	2960	4860	3760	7930	4060	12470	7080	4208

<sup>80</sup> E190/131/1.

<sup>81</sup> The *DNB* entry for Alexander Pope (1688-1744) states that his father, 'the linen draper ... in or before 1700 moved to Binfield'. In view of his absence from the 1695-96 port book it seems likely that he retired before 1695.

*b) Merchants importing Sletia damask and diaper, 1660-1700*

Unlike the imports of Holland damask and diaper which remained at a similar level in the second half of the century as in the first, Sletia diaper imports increased dramatically and from about 1680 Sletia damask was imported in considerable quantities (Table 4.8). This resulted in a significant increase in the number of merchants trading in Sletia napery.<sup>82</sup>

Despite this, the trade was still dominated at any particular time by three or four merchants. Thus John Bancks and then Richard Bancks drove more than a third of the trade for several years, whilst John Holman, Peter Vansittart and Thomas Scawen had more than fifteen per cent for certain periods (Table 5.16). The bare figures of this Table, however, may be misleading for they simply represent the proportions of napery, by value, which were consigned in the port books to particular merchants. Now, some of these consignees were driving a sole trade, purchasing linens through a factor or agent in Hamburg, whilst others were members of trading partnerships with one or more partners living in Hamburg. From time to time partners moved from one city to the other, resulting in a change of consignee. As the structure of many of these partnerships is unknown, it is likely that a few of the merchants listed in the table were in fact partners. A further complication is that several London merchants sold linens on commission from Hamburg merchants as well as buying linens on their own account.

E. K. Newman in her doctoral thesis, concerning the trade between London and Hamburg, gives examples of such commission sales. Mathew Ashton regularly sent a variety of linens from Hamburg for his own account to be sold by correspondents in London, among them Peter Vansittart and Jeremy Whichcott.<sup>83</sup> Vansittart also sold linens on commission from the important Hamburg linen merchants, the Luis brothers, during the 1680s when he was regularly taking consignments of Sletia damask and diaper valued in excess of £2,000. At the same time he was probably trading on his own account. This was certainly the case in the early years of the next century, for after his death in 1706, his heir sued the agents in Hamburg to whom he had advanced £11,000 for the purchase of Silesia linens.<sup>84</sup>

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<sup>82</sup> Few were merchant strangers, the exception being William de Visscher, John Letten and Justus Otgher. The reason is nicely illustrated by Otgher who was recorded in the Merchant Strangers Port Book, E190/74/4 as importing £662 of Sletia diaper on 3 February 1678. He was clearly naturalised at that time for two days after this consignment, he was recorded in the English Merchants book. E190/83/1, 1678, 5 Feb. Just. Otger, Holland diaper - value £6.

<sup>83</sup> Newman (1979)†, 221.

<sup>84</sup> Newman (1979)†, 228.

TABLE 5.16 SLETIA DAMASK AND DIAPER IMPORTS BY ENGLISH MERCHANTS 1670-1700:  
INDIVIDUAL PROPORTIONS OF TRADE  
(Figures are percentages of total English Merchant Sletia damask and diaper imports)

NAME	YEAR										
	1672	1676	1677	1678	1680	1681	1682	1683	1685	1686	1696
John LETHIEULLIER	13	-	-	-	10	-	-	-	-	1	-
Peter VANDERMARSH	2	1	2	5	7	8	5	6	2	8	3
Geo. TURFREE	15	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Tho. FARRINGTON	14	5	4	2	3	2	2	2	-	-	-
John BANCKS	40	57	16	34	6†	-	-	-	-	-	-
Will. ROBINSON	7	7	8	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
John HOLMAN	1	17	13	22	12	8	6	6	-	-	-
James PICKERING	-	<1	2	11	<1	-	-	-	<1	-	-
John MORRICE	-	<1	-	-	-	-	-	2	11	-	2
Jer. FOREMAN	-	-	15	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
John PEARCE	-	-	12	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Adr. BEYER	-	-	7	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Rich. BANCKS	-	-	2	-	25	35	33	5	2	6	-
John SMITH	-	-	1	-	-	12	9	8	7	-	-
Jer. ELWES	-	-	2	4	5	-	2	5	7	-	1
Peter VANSITTART	-	-	-	-	5	10	11	15	12	22	9
Ger. VANHUSON	-	-	-	-	6	4	12	6	1	-	-
John DELACHAMBRE	-	-	-	-	2	<1	1	1	4	-	7
Jer. WHICHCOTT	-	-	-	-	<1	-	4	3	1	10	-
Leo. ROBINSON	-	-	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Will. SCAWEN	-	-	-	-	-	9	1	-	-	-	37
Tho. SCAWEN	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	18	20	23	-
John HIDE	-	-	1	1	1	-	5	4	-	-	-
Chris. HAMILTON	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	2	<1	-
John LLOYD	-	-	-	3	1	1	<1	-	-	5	5
John FISHER	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	4	2
MEYER & BERENBERGH	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
Clem. BOEHM	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
Will. WITHERS	-	-	-	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	3
Hugh NODEN & Co.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	-
SUBTOTAL %	92	87	85	90	87	89	92	84	70	85	76
OTHERS %	8	13	15	10	13	11	8	16	30	15	24
TOTAL %	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
NO. OF CONSIGNEES	12	17	28	24	32	31	31	44	38	30	55
VALUATION £	10650	17550	20460	20390	14770	20460	27520	38770	22020	12970	27990

† Consignee was James Bancks

There were distinct differences between the major importers of Sletia napery in both the scale of their operations and degree of specialisation. For example in 1678, John Holman imported some £4,500 of Sletia diaper and John Bancks £7,000 which represented 22 and 34 per cent respectively of total Sletia diaper imports. Although Holman's total trade was substantial, that of Bancks was enormous, resulting in diaper being more important in Holman's overall pattern of trade (Table 5.17). Despite the difference in the degree of concentration upon Sletia diaper between Holman and Bancks, their trade profiles both show a reliance on the better quality cloths, with only 20 per cent in Narrow German linens which constituted at this time more than 70 per cent of German linen imports into London.<sup>85</sup>



TABLE 5.17 THE RESPECTIVE TRADE OF JOHN HOLMAN AND JOHN BANCKS IN 1678  
(From E190/83/1, /78/1 & /75/1, with valuations calculated using the Book of Rates)

IMPORTS	JOHN HOLMAN		JOHN BANCKS	
	Value (£)	Prop. of his imports (%)	Value (£)	Prop. of his imports (%)
Sletia Diaper	4527	25	6968	11
Broad German	6815	37	26594	42
Narrow German	3677	20	12978	20
Sletia Lawns	1200	7	11556	18
Miscellaneous linens	1206	7	4493	7
Other goods	833	4	1377	2
TOTAL IMPORTS	18358	100	63966	100
EXPORTS				
Perpetuanas, etc	262	-	3173	-

In his will of 1652 William Christmas, who had been a major importer of Sletia diaper left to 'John Holman my present servant' £20.<sup>86</sup> Holman apparently spent much of his time in Germany for Newman records that he 'employed Mathius Pfifter of Leipzig to buy linen for his account' and that he had laded some £3,700 of linens in the company's ships which were attacked by the Dutch in 1666.<sup>87</sup> Klima in his study of English merchant capital in the linen trade in central Europe states that Holman bought goods from Johann Benade, a major supplier to Hermann Luis in Hamburg. He also refers to English merchants, among them John Holman, who settled in Zittau, the centre of the trade in Sletia damask after 1680.<sup>88</sup> Holman, however, lived for part of the year in London, as his name was regularly entered in the port books between 1672 and 1683, and in the *Little London Directory* of 1677 he was listed in Bell Alley, Coleman Street. He died, unmarried in 1688 leaving his estate to a nephew.<sup>89</sup>

John Bancks [Banks, Bankes or Banckes] was born in London in 1627 and traded in partnership with his younger brothers, Charles and James.<sup>90</sup> They were merchant adventurers trading through Hamburg, importing by the mid-1670s large quantities of German linens with a modest export trade, largely in inexpensive woollens. In addition, they imported timber from Norway and owned several ships.<sup>91</sup> During the 1670s, John was based in London with Charles and James in Hamburg, James returning to London by 1680.<sup>92</sup> John Bancks was an influential figure who in 1674 was appointed by the Lord

86 Prob.11/333, sig. 333.

87 Newman (1979)‡, 225.

88 Klima (1959), 39.

89 Prob.11/396, sig. 96.

90 *Harleian Soc. Reg.* 30 (1903)\*, St Vedast & St Michael Le Quern. Baptisms: John 19.3.1627, Charles 13.4.1632 & James 16.2.1638.

91 *Calendar of Treasury Books*\*, 1. 289, 30 Sept. 1661 and 7, 939, 3 Nov. 1683, three ships built in Holstein 'about five years since'.

92 In 1677, John Banks lived in Fenchurch Street, Lee (1677)\*. The registers of All Hallows Staining include the baptisms of Charles (19 Feb. 1673) and Elizabeth (22 Aug. 1678), son and daughter of 'John Banks Mercht [Esqr. in 1678] & of Rebecca his wife', Guildhall 17824.

Treasurer to investigate, together with Sir Richard Ford, 'what moneys have at any time been paid or imprested from the office of the Navy to Sir William Warren'.<sup>93</sup> During the embargo on French linens between 1678 and 1685, Bancks acted on behalf of the Customs Office, claiming expenses for the officers that he successfully sent into the West of England to prevent the running of prohibited goods.<sup>94</sup> As French diapers were direct competitors of Sletia diapers, he clearly had an interest in preventing their illegal importation. Around 1690, John Bancks retired to Devon and in his will, dated 15 May 1699, is described as 'of the Citty of Exon Merchant'.<sup>95</sup>

Apart from being successful, the Bancks brothers were innovative and aggressive traders. In 1672, during the third Anglo-Dutch war, they were given permission by the crown to send goods from Hamburg to Leipzig. Thereafter, the Bancks continued to send goods to Leipzig much to the annoyance of the Merchant Adventurers' Company as their regulations required English woollens to be sold in Hamburg. In 1677 after several petitions from the Company, 'Mr Bancks' was required to submit that the 'liberty' had expired.<sup>96</sup> It also seems from the Marescoe-David letters that the brothers tried to obtain a monopoly for the supply of linens to the Royal Africa Company.<sup>97</sup>

In 1680 Richard Bancks became the principal importer of Sletia diaper into London, driving a considerable trade of a similar scale and pattern to John and James Bancks. Confusingly, there were two Richard Bancks trading in London at that time.<sup>98</sup> One of them was living in considerable style in the parish of St Andrew Undershaft. At the same address was John Bludworth, presumably his partner.<sup>99</sup> Both their partnership and engagement in the linen trade are confirmed in the 1691 inventory of the linen draper Andrew Kenrick by the entry 'Rich. Banks and Bludworth upon a booke debt' £456.11.0. From several wills and baptismal registers, it is clear that this Richard Bancks was the only surviving son of John Bancks and nephew of Charles and James.<sup>100</sup> In view of Richard's considerable trade in 1680, he was presumably born about 1652, the son of a first wife of John Banks, for John's marriage articles to Rebecca Crossing are dated 1660.<sup>101</sup> As both

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James was the consignee in the London port book of 1680 and his daughter Ann was baptised on 6 February 1680, in St Andrew Undershaft, Guildhall 4107/2. He probably returned at the end of 1677 when he was granted a warrant for 'the import Customs free of four horses' (probably his coach horses). *Calendar of Treasury Books*, \* 5, 1145.

93 *Calendar of Treasury Books*\*, 4, 608, etc.

94 *Calendar of Treasury Books*\*, 7, 1379; also 6, 688.

95 Prob.11/458, sig. 164.

96 *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic*\*, 1672-73, 216 and 1676-77, 501.

97 Roseveare (1987)\*, 180 & 399.

98 Lee (1677)\* gives a Richard Banks in Gravel Lane, Houndsditch. He was the son of Henry Bancks, and may have been a colonial merchant. In 1678, a Richard Banks imported 71,238 lbs of tobacco from Virginia (value £5937), E190/83/1.

99 *CMH Database* ‡. The rack rent of the house was assessed at £70. Bancks had a coach and employed four women and six menservants.

100 See St Andrew Undershaft, baptisms, and John Bancks' will (noted above). Richard Bancks' will Prob.11/490, sig. 223, 1706 and inventory Prob.4/22592.

101 Reference to articles in John Bancks' will.

John and Charles Bancks were active during the 1680s but were not recorded as importing Sletia diaper during that time, it is possible that they were in partnership with Richard until John retired to Devon about 1690 and John Bludworth became Richard's partner. Unfortunately, Richard Bancks' trade did not meet with continued success and on his death in 1706 he had substantial debts.<sup>102</sup>

Among the other merchants importing Sletia diaper on some scale was Peter Vansittart who was born in Danzig and came to London around 1670. He was naturalised in 1677 when his address was given in the *Little London Directory* as at Mr John Martin Elkins, Lawrence Pountney Lane. Elkins, who was presumably a partner, was born in Bremen and had been naturalised in 1675. At his death in 1706 Vansittart was one of the richest men in London, worth over £120,000. Although a member of the committee of the East India Company and governor of the Russia Company, his trade was mainly in linens and dyestuffs principally with Amsterdam, Hamburg and his birthplace, Danzig.<sup>103</sup>

Despite the anglicisation of the stranger community and the wider scope for trade, several naturalised strangers continued, as their forebears, to drive an import trade in linens. The Dutch Church also remained an important focus of their lives with men like Vandermarsh and Vanhuson continuing to serve as elders. Similarly, the naturalised French Protestant refugees who dominated the trade in French diaper, when legally imported during the 1670s and 1680s, continued to be active in the French Church in Threadneedle Street (Table 5.18). Nevertheless there was a noticeable change within the foreign merchant community for with the loosening of the Merchant Adventurers' hold on the export of English cloth and the eventual withdrawal of its monopoly in 1689, a number of German merchants from Hamburg established themselves in London. Among these were David Becceler and Otto Geertz and a second partnership with a similar trade in linens and woollens, Peter Meyer and John Henry Berenbergh. All four were naturalised and were members of the Lutheran Church in Trinity Lane.<sup>104</sup>

<sup>102</sup> See Richard's will and his stepmother's, Rebecca Bancks of 1715, Prob. 11/522, sig. 89.

<sup>103</sup> See 1706 VANSITTART.

<sup>104</sup> Details of their exports and imports are given in Jones (1988), Tables 8.3 and 8.4. Also see Ormrod (1995), 262.

TABLE 5.18 ENGLISH MERCHANTS FROM STRANGER FAMILIES IMPORTING NAPERY  
1660-1700

NAME	NAME IN CHURCH RECORD (IF DIFFERENT)	PLACE OF BIRTH	CHURCH			STATUS
			Member	Deacon	Elder	
HOLLAND DAMASK & DIAPER						
Nath. LETTEN		Norwich	Dutch	1658	1665	English born
Simon HOET	Symon	London	Dutch	-	-	English born
Peter KESTERMAN	Pieter	Ieper, Flanders	Dutch	1661	1670	Nat. 1660
Chr. HAMILTON	Crysostomus	Ieper, Flanders	Dutch	1670	1683	Den. or Nat. 1660
SLETIA DAMASK & DIAPER						
John LETHIEULLIER		London	French	-	-	English [Father den. 1632]
Peter VANDERMARSH	van der MERSCH	Haarlem, Holland	Dutch	-	1695 a	Nat. 1661
Adrian BEYER	Adriaen	Moerhercken Holland	Dutch	1668	1688	Nat. 1665
Peter VANSITTART	van CITTART	Danzig	?	-	-	Nat. 1676/7
Ger. VANHUSON	Geeraert van HEYTHUSEN	Waert, Brabant	Dutch	1652	1662	Nat. 1660.
John DELACHAMBRE	de la CHAMBRE	St Quentin, Picardy	Dutch	1672	1688	Nat. 1664
Chris. HAMILTON	Chrysostomus	Ieper, Flanders	Dutch	1670	1683	Den. or Nat. 1660
John LLOYD	Johannes LOYD	?	Dutch	1681	-	?
Peter MEYER		Hamburg	German			Nat. 1691
John Henry BERENBERGH		Hamburg	German			Nat. 1693
Clement BOEHM		Strasbourg	German?			Nat. or Den. 1688
FRENCH DIAPER						
Wm CARBONEL		Caen, Normandy	French			Nat. 1660
John LONGUET		Bayeux, Normandy	French			Nat. 1665
Law. MARTELL		London	French			English born
Peter MARTELL		London	French			English born
Mark MAUBERT		Rouen, Normandy	?			Nat. 1675

Note

a May have been his son Peter.

#### 5.4 THE GEOGRAPHY OF THE LINEN IMPORTERS IN LONDON

Overseas cargoes were required to be landed at the legal quays which occupied the short stretch of riverfront between London Bridge and the Tower. Before the Civil War, the merchant strangers mostly lived near the quays in Billingsgate Ward, with a few in Dowgate Ward.<sup>105</sup> Those in Billingsgate were gathered in the lanes that led directly north

<sup>105</sup> See Mitchell (1995C), Fig. 10, map.

into the City from the quays which in a report of 1584 were noted as 'wholly inhabited with Flemynys' and 'for strangers goodes'.<sup>106</sup>

The English merchants were dispersed throughout the City.<sup>107</sup> There were a few including Thomas Keightley near the legal quays in the parish of St Dunstan's-in-the-East with a larger group immediately to the west of London Bridge in the wards of Bridge Within and Dowgate. John Parker, Chris. Vivian and William Williams, three of the merchants who traded in Holland damask and diaper lived in the vicinity of Cheapside. This was one of London's principal streets lined with fashionable shops selling luxury goods, including several linen drapers. To the north, in the wards of Cripplegate Within and Bassishaw was a concentration of merchant adventurers which included Hugh Windham, William Christmas, Walter Pell and Anthony Biddulph. Although they were importers of German linens including Sletia diaper, perhaps their major concern was the export of English cloth, the sale of which was controlled through Blackwell Hall, situated in this part of the City.

The Great Fire of 1666 destroyed the legal quays and the areas of the City where the merchant strangers lived. However, the quays were reconstructed on the same stretch of waterfront and the City was rebuilt essentially using the old ground plan. Many of the linen merchants were still in the wards of Bridge Within and Dowgate but noticeably fewer lived in Billingsgate Ward. The concentration in the north west of the City seems to have dissolved, possibly owing to the decline in the importance of Blackwell Hall. There were still a few merchants in the vicinity of the Dutch and French churches. Throughout the century, those that lived in the north of the City possibly hired warehouse space near to the legal quays.<sup>108</sup>

## 5.5 CONCLUSIONS

Recent studies of merchants have highlighted several characteristics of their operations, notably specialisation and methods of minimising risk. D. W. Jones writing of the mercantile community in London towards 1700 stresses the high degree of specialisation both in goods and in the type of trade; whether export, re-export or import.<sup>109</sup> Together with others, he describes the part played by complex trade networks in minimising risk.<sup>110</sup> These networks with links forged by birth, apprenticeship, service as a factor, and marriage, ideally provided reliable commercial intelligence and trustworthy associates.

<sup>106</sup> Dietz (1972), 160-167.

<sup>107</sup> See Mitchell (1995C), Fig. 12, map.

<sup>108</sup> Thomas Farrington's address was given as 'his warehouse, Mincin-lane, at a Packers', Lee (1677)\*.

<sup>109</sup> Jones (1988), 261.

<sup>110</sup> Roseveare (1987)\*, Brenner (1993), Müller (1995), Hacquebord (1995), Kooijmans (1995).

Other methods included partnerships of limited duration for trade in particular goods, the splitting of cargoes between several vessels and the increasing use of insurance. When successful, merchants also invested excess profits in land, leaseholds in London and in various financial instruments. With the development of goldsmith-banking during the Commonwealth, there was a wider range of choices available, including loans to bankers secured by bonds, the purchase of tallies, lottery tickets and annuities, in addition to shares in the East India and other companies. Such investments reduced the proportion of personal capital employed in overseas trade, thus reducing the risk of failure through war, piracy, shipwreck or the fickleness of the market.<sup>111</sup>

All these trade characteristics were found among the merchants importing fine linens into London. Between 1600 and 1640, there was a high degree of specialisation which took three forms: the type of trade, whether a composite import-export or simply an import trade; the geographical area; and the goods traded. English merchants, particularly merchant adventurers trading with Hamburg, had a composite import-export trade, although the linen merchants' imports were much larger than their exports. The merchant strangers who were effectively barred from membership of the chartered companies, were largely confined to an import trade. Almost all, English or stranger, traded with a distinct area whether the Low Countries, Germany or France. Even within the Low Countries, many merchants traded exclusively with either the Spanish Netherlands or the United Provinces, despite the severe disruptions caused from time to time by political and military events. There was also specialisation in the types of linen traded which was particularly marked among those dealing with the more expensive linens, notably 'Holland' damask and diaper, and cambrics and lawns. In taking decisions as to these three forms of specialisation, young merchants seem largely to have been influenced or constrained by their birth, wealth and the connections made during their training. Among the merchant strangers there were in addition links to kin and co-religionists abroad, and within the Dutch Church in London.

The inter-relation between specialisation and trade networks is exemplified by those dealing in damask and diaper from the Low Countries. It is noticeable that the leading importers from the Spanish Netherlands were not from merchant families, but had trade backgrounds from the linen towns of West Flanders. Indeed Andreas Boeve and his brother Lewes who drove between them a half to three-quarters of the trade over a period of fifteen years, were born in Kortrijk. In contrast those trading in the United Provinces were from merchant backgrounds. The weaving of linen damask in Haarlem developed at the end of the sixteenth century and merchants from the Antwerp diaspora with contacts in the United Provinces were best placed to dominate the trade. Indeed most linen imports from the north were in their hands, with English merchants carrying just 18 per cent in 1633. Even

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111 See Mathias (1995).

this figure is misleading for some 5 per cent was imported by Sir William Courteene, who like James Collent, was from a stranger family and was a member of the Dutch Church at Austin Friars.<sup>112</sup> For a number of years, Courteene and Collent were two of the three leading 'English' importers of damask and diaper, which they shipped from both the Spanish Netherlands and on occasion from the United Provinces. The third major player, John Parker, the son of a Leicester tradesman, specialised in napery from Flanders.

The degree of their concentration in these luxury goods was significant, for in 1609, 39 per cent of Andreas Boeve's imports of linen cloth were of damask and diaper (Table 5.5). In 1633, the corresponding figure for John Parker was 25 per cent (Table 5.7). It appears that all these specialist merchants had close contacts with weaver-entrepreneurs in either Kortrijk or Haarlem. Presumably, this was necessary not only to fulfil orders for bespoke and personalised stock patterns but also to react to changing fashions in design. Among the merchants importing Sletia diaper such considerations, allied to the problems of quality control in a rapidly developing industry in Saxony and Silesia, seem to have led to an even closer involvement with manufacture. Of the trade in German linens, Dr Newman concludes that 'the commonest procedure was for German merchants to purchase linen upcountry and English merchants to buy in Hamburg'. She cites the Ashton papers to reinforce this view but acknowledges that 'a minority of English merchants had more direct dealings - bypassing the Hamburg merchant'.<sup>113</sup> Interestingly, amongst this minority were Thomas Keightley and John Holman who were major importers of Sletia diaper. Both lived for part of the year in Upper Lusatia and seem to have invested in production. John Bancks and his brothers with their direct trade to Leipzig, may also have had similar dealings with the producers in the south of Saxony.

Although this study is unsuitable for a detailed exposition of the changes that led to the assimilation of the merchant strangers into the mainstream of English commerce, it highlights certain trends that played a part in the process. Firstly, an increasing number of second and third generation strangers gained livery company membership and by the middle of the seventeenth century a few were elected to high office in the City of London. These included Sir John Lawrence, Lord Mayor in 1665, who was the son of the linen merchant Adam Lawrence [Laurens].<sup>114</sup> Secondly, before the Civil War several merchant strangers led by the Courteenes were engaged in interloping against the East India Company in association with English merchants. These Englishmen were part of a group termed by Brenner the 'New Merchant Leadership' and rose to prominence in maritime and commercial affairs during the Commonwealth. Changes during this period and after the Restoration enabled merchants from stranger families to play leading roles in the New East

<sup>112</sup> Table 5.4, English merchants carried £9,901 of total of £54,599, i.e. 18.1%.

Table 5.7, Courteene imported £2,791 of linens from the United Provinces, i.e. 5.1% of the total.

<sup>113</sup> Newman (1979)†, 282 & 285.

<sup>114</sup> See Tables 5.2, 5.6 & 5.14 and Mitchell (1995C), 124.



India and other companies. Thirdly, after the Restoration it became much easier to be naturalised. These changes clearly gave greater opportunities to the merchant strangers although they did not immediately abandon their traditional trades. Nevertheless they ceased to form the powerful coherent group based on the Dutch Church that was so visible earlier in the century.

## CHAPTER 6 DISTRIBUTION: THE ROLE OF THE LINEN DRAPERS

*Madame, what doth it please you to have? Would ye have any faire linnen cloath? Mistresse, see what I have and I will shoue you the fairest linnen cloath in London. If you do not like it you may leave it. You shall bestowe nothing but the looking on.*<sup>1</sup>

- Peter Erondell, 1605

As very little fine linen was woven in the British Isles before the eighteenth century, most good quality plain and figured linens were imported. From the mid-fifteenth century, although some plain linens were imported through the outports, diaper and linen damask was traded almost exclusively through the port of London. Some fine linens were bought in the Low Countries by those with direct links through military or diplomatic service but most were imported by merchants. Until the middle of the sixteenth century, these merchants sold their goods both by wholesale to mercers in London and the provinces, and by retail to individual customers. Subsequently, with overseas trade confined to 'mere merchants', banning tradesmen and retailers, imported linens were principally sold to major linen drapers in the City.

From the Commonwealth period, the monopoly powers of the chartered companies were threatened both by interlopers and by regulation, which culminated in the revocation of the Merchant Adventurers' monopoly in 1689.<sup>2</sup> These developments gave increased freedom for merchants and tradesmen to engage in several parallel but interconnected activities, including overseas trade, sale by wholesale and retail, and direct or indirect involvement in manufacture.<sup>3</sup> Early in the eighteenth century the tight profit margins on linens led some London merchants to act as commission agents for linen merchants in Amsterdam and Hamburg, rather than trading on their own account. Soon, the continental houses dealt directly with major linen drapers, eliminating overseas merchants as intermediaries and reducing transaction costs.<sup>4</sup>

In the light of these developments, this chapter examines the linen drapers dealing in fine table linen, the nature and organisation of their trade, and the changing relationships with the overseas merchants and their customers.

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1 Peter Erondell (1605)\* quoted in Davis (1966), 105.

2 Ormrod (1995), 253-268.

3 A merchant who engaged in all these activities in the 1680s in London was the Turkey merchant, Jacob Turner; see Mitchell (1995A), 153-175.

4 For detailed discussion, see Harte (1973), Section II, 86-91.

## 6.1 DISTRIBUTION BEFORE THE MID-SIXTEENTH CENTURY

In the late middle ages luxury goods including Flemish linens were sold at the great fairs, particularly the Stourbridge Fair at Cambridge and the St Bartholomew Fair in London.<sup>5</sup> However, by the late fifteenth century London had become the main source of luxury goods of all sorts, including fine linens. Diaper and plain linen napery were imported from the Spanish Netherlands by London merchants who sold parcels both to mercers in the City and to retail customers. One such merchant was Alexander Plymley, a merchant adventurer who drove a considerable trade principally with Antwerp, exporting woollen cloth in exchange for plain linens and certain other goods. The linens in his inventory consisted mainly of 'gentishe hollonde cloth', 'brussell cloth' and 'right hollonde cloth' with barras canvas and other cheaper linens.<sup>6</sup> Although he bought both damask and diaper table linen for his own use, there is none listed among his trade goods. His debtors in England fall into several distinct groups. A number with modest debts listed simply by name and title were possibly retail customers, for example, 'The Lady Dracot', 'Master Doctor Bell', and 'Mr Olyver Leder gent'; whilst others indicate direct dealings with the royal household, 'John More Clarke of the privy Seall' and 'Willm Gysnam of the Wardrobe'. Among the major debtors were several described as 'of London mercer'. Although the description seems to indicate their company membership rather than their occupation, it is likely that they purchased a significant proportion of Plymley's linens.<sup>7</sup> A further significant group were listed by name and town, typically 'John Kempe of Stafforde'. The geographical spread was wide from Southampton to Penrith, and Totnes to Norwich although the midland towns were particularly well represented. It is clear from his probate inventory of 1559 that one of these debtors 'John Johnson of Walsingham' was a shopkeeper and it is likely that many in this group were also provincial mercers. In his inventory of 1559 Johnson's trade goods were valued at some £100, with two-thirds represented by textiles including linens (canvas, holland and Dowlas), mixed fabrics ('holmes' and 'Jeans')

<sup>5</sup> Davis (1996), Chapter II.

<sup>6</sup> 1533 PLYMLEY. White wares valued at £1,476.5.7½; merchandise and divers wares at £486.1.11; woollen cloths in London at £340.6.8. From the variation in unit values, it seems they were at cost.

The white wares comprised:-		£
Gentish Holland and Brussels (7d to 8d per ell)	1024 pieces cont. 30368 ells, value	982
Right Holland* (3s per ell)	90 pieces cont. 916 ells, value	130
Other linens	value	176
Camlets, satins, etc	value	188
Total		<u>£1476</u>

\*Probably indicates cloth woven in Holland rather than a similar material from Gent.

<sup>7</sup> Some 25 mercers owed £987; the mercer William Mownslow who may have been a partner of Plymley, £526 and 26 members of other London companies, £429. There were some 50 small debtors owing £109 who may have been retail customers. Provincial debtors, many of whom were probably shopkeepers owed £650.

fustian) and woollens ('Russells' and 'Norwych Worstede'). The remaining goods were various: caps and thread, pepper and other spices, soap, gunpowder, yellow ochre, redlead, starch flour and brimstone.<sup>8</sup>

Inventories of other provincial mercers from the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries exhibit similar ranges of goods and commodities: predominantly a wide range of linens with some woollen and mixed cloths, and in addition haberdashery wares, groceries and dyestuffs.<sup>9</sup> The range of linens could be more extensive than Johnson's; Edmond Ayloff in 1487 at his shop in Sudbury carried linens from the Low Countries, France and Germany, including Champagne, Brabant, Brussels and Flemish cloth, hollands of several qualities, crestcloth, canvas, lockram, buckram and osnabrigs.<sup>10</sup> Certain mercers in the larger towns acted as wholesalers for local shopkeepers. John Bodley of Exeter with trade goods of £145 in 1527, had debtors throughout the west country. Apparently he purchased many of his goods in London, as a number of his creditors were in the City.<sup>11</sup>

Not all imported linens reached provincial shopkeepers through London, as some were landed in the outports. This trade is reflected in several inventories from Newcastle upon Tyne as well as Bishop Auckland, Lyme Regis and Rye.<sup>12</sup> In the mid-sixteenth century Rye was a busy port with regular trade links with London, Flanders and Normandy. In 1558 John Clarke's goods included not only quantities of Holland and Gentish cloth, and Holland ducks from the Low Countries but also Normandy canvas and lockrams from France.<sup>13</sup> In contrast John Wilkenson of Newcastle upon Tyne had no trade with France although he had goods in Flanders 'under the restreynt ther which lyethe as yett not gotten by me' - presumably seized in December 1568 with the arrest of the merchant adventurers in Antwerp by the Duke of Alva.<sup>14</sup> Thomas Petheres of Salisbury also appears to have traded directly with Flanders as his inventory of 1546 includes a charge 'for the hole cosste spent in flaunders home & owte'.<sup>15</sup> Although such provincial mercers sold Hollands and Normandy canvas, suitable for plain table linen, few if any appear to have stocked fine figured linens, suggesting that they were only available in London.<sup>16</sup> Further, as the main

<sup>8</sup> 1559 JHONSON. For provincial mercers, see Berger (1993), 15-57.

<sup>9</sup> 1487 AYLOFF, 1488 GODFRAY, 1490 BODIHAM, 1494 WARYN, 1501 PYKRING, 1527 BODLEY.

<sup>10</sup> 1487 AYLOFF. Similarly, Robert Godfray of Arundel stocked hollands at 5d to 2s per ell, Brabant at 5d to 8d per ell, canvas at 2½ to 6d per ell, as well as 'flemysh', 'bristowcloth', and worsteds.

<sup>11</sup> 1527 BODLEY. In towns in Devon, Cornwall, Somerset and Dorset. About a half of Bodley's stock was in linen, woollen and fustian cloth with some groceries and a quantity of haberdashery wares (total £145). He owed £200 to eight Londoners.

<sup>12</sup> See: 1539 LAME, 1539 ANDERSON, 1539 ELESONE, 1558 CLARKE, 1558 NORRYCE, 1571 WILKENSON.

<sup>13</sup> For Rye's trade refer to Mayhew (1987). In Clarke's inventory, Holland was priced at 2s per ell, Gentish cloth at 1s 4d, Normandy canvas at 1s and Lockram at 9d.

<sup>14</sup> 1571 WILKENSON. For these events see Ramsay (1986), Chapter V.

<sup>15</sup> 1546 PETHERES. His trade goods valued at £44 were typical save for some wine and glass.

<sup>16</sup> There are occasional references to diaper in provincial mercers' inventories, e.g. 1494 WARYN. The document is damaged but the debtors suggest that Waryn live in East Anglia. Among his linens were two pieces of cheap diaper which may have been locally woven.

purchasers of fine damask and diaper napery at this period were the crown, the nobility and the City magnates, it is likely that it was bought, often in whole pieces, directly from overseas merchants. Unfortunately, the evidence for this is scant although the Great Wardrobe account of 1557-58 records a payment to 'Galfrido Walkenden' for diaper for 1½ dozen napkins.<sup>17</sup> Geoffrey Walkenden was the consignee for several parcels of linen from Antwerp during the 1560s which included damask and diaper napery.<sup>18</sup>

Apart from whole pieces, cut lengths were retailed at London mercers who sold a range of textiles, such as John Skyrwyth whose trade goods included a range of silks, satins, taffetas, camlets and fustians as well as several types of linen.<sup>19</sup> Similarly, the goods of George Turney were reminiscent of many provincial mercers with a range of textiles (including napkins), haberdashery wares and groceries, although his silks and mixed cloth were of greater variety and quantity.<sup>20</sup> Apart from shopkeepers with such extensive stocks of textiles, others dealt simply in linens even in the fifteenth century: for example, in 1494 John Padley's goods in London comprised only holland and 'braband' cloth.<sup>21</sup>

## 6.2 LONDON LINEN DRAPERS

### a) *The geography of the trade*

Although it is difficult to track, it seems that the exclusion of retailers from overseas trade, coupled with the expansion in the range of linens available and the flow of calicoes from India, led some tradesmen to specialise in these goods as linen drapers.<sup>22</sup> By the end of the seventeenth century this led to a London mercer being defined as <sup>'one that deals only in Silks and Stuffs', whereas in country towns as</sup> 'one that Trades in all sorts of Linen, Woollen, Silk, and Grocery Wares'.<sup>23</sup> In 1692, the Poll Tax returns indicate a progression of linen drapers from Newgate eastward along Cheapside, Cornhill and Leadenhall Street to Aldgate (Appendix C1). The main concentrations were in Cheapside and Cornhill, with spurs to the south in Friday Street and in Gracechurch Street towards London Bridge (see Fig. 6.1).

The pattern was very similar both in 1730 when a list of 'the best drapers' in London was sent to the linen merchant J. I. de Neufville in Amsterdam, and again in the London

17 PRO E101/428/5.

18 E190/3/2, 25, 1565.

E190/4/2, 179 & 248v, 1568; parcels included 4 pcs damask for napkins and towels, 10 pcs diaper for tablecloths and 9 pcs for napkins.

19 1486 SKRYWYTH. His trade is unclear but he may have been engaged in overseas trade as well as in wholesale and retail sales.

20 1539 TURNEY. Although damaged, it appears to be a London inventory.

21 1494 PADLEY. 12 pcs of holland and 3 pcs of 'braband' valued at £17.6.6¼.

22 Some shops continued to sell both linens and silks about 1600; Anne of Denmark owed 'Edward Ferrers lynendraper & mercer', £488 in 1606, PRO LS 13/280, 339.

23 O.E.D. (1696) Philips.

Directory of 1740 (Appendices C2 & C3).<sup>24</sup> The continuities are striking for in 1692 and 1740 about a third of the linen drapers were in Cheapside and Friday Street, another third around Cornhill with the remainder scattered elsewhere in the City. Although three 'eminent' linen drapers were listed in Fleet Street in 1740 and none earlier, it may be of little significance as the returns of 1692 for the parish of St Dunstan's in the West did not give occupational titles. In any event the movement to the west was modest. This is in contrast to other luxury trades which during the seventeenth century followed their clientele westwards, as major developments of gentry housing were built in St Martin's in the Fields and Holborn. As early as 1634, the Goldsmiths' Company had tried to force their members to move back to Goldsmiths Row in Cheapside. The attempt failed and a year later a report listed 52 goldsmiths who had not moved including twelve in Fleet Street, a further twelve in the Strand and seven in Holborn.<sup>25</sup> The explanation for this contrasting behaviour probably lies in the nature of the trade of the City linen drapers who sold mainly by wholesale, although retail sales were not neglected. These were features of the larger businesses concentrated in Cheapside and Cornhill in both 1692 and 1730. Another reason for remaining in the City was proximity to the overseas merchants importing linens. After the Great Fire the major linen importers lived in the wards of Bridge Within and Billingsgate, immediately to the south and south east of the concentration of linen drapers in Cornhill. In the first half of the century some merchants such as John Parker had lived in the vicinity of Cheapside. It was the luxury retail, rather than the wholesale trade that drew tradesmen westward. Thus, it is salutary to find that the Fleet Street linen drapers included in the 1730 and 1740 lists drove a retail as well as a wholesale trade: for example, Sir Richard Hoare who lived in Fleet Street bought a variety of plain and figured linens in 1732 from Nathaniel Turner and in 1744 from John and Michael Turner.<sup>26</sup>

In *A History of Shopping*, Dorothy Davis illustrated the movement of gentry shopping westwards from work on the Russells by G Scott-Thompson,

In the seventeenth century, when the family had Bedford House in the Strand, the buying was done almost entirely in the City, but gradually in Restoration times they came to accept tradesmen who had set up in the Covent Garden district after the Fire. By the mid-eighteenth century, the family residence had been moved back from the increasingly commercial bustle of the Strand to a new mansion in Bloomsbury, and its patronage was spread wide, not only

24 Eeghen (1959), No. 1344. *Directory* (1740)\*.

25 Goldsmiths' Company, Court Book S Part 1; 83, 125, 199, 222, & 504.

26 V & A, 86 NN3, Sir Richard Hoare - Bills:

134, Oct 9th 1732 Bought of Nath<sup>l</sup>. Turner & Co. Includes huckaback, Holland diaper and sets of damask which from the price were probably German.

136, Aug. 10th 1744 Bought of John and Mic<sup>l</sup>. Turner. Damask tablecloths and huckaback napkins.

137, July 10th 1750 Bought of John Turner & Co. Includes Lancashire and Irish sheeting, huckaback, Swiss diaper and several damask tablecloths (probably German).

over shops in the City and Covent Garden but in St James's and Piccadilly too.<sup>27</sup>

Linen was included among the City purchases of the family in the late seventeenth century, with both plain linen and napery purchased from Benjamin Thorowgood in 1683 and Thomas Salter in 1686.<sup>28</sup>

*b) Business structure*

The Earl of Bedford's suppliers Thorowgood and Slater were both recorded in the 1692 poll tax returns as living in the ward of Cornhill and were amongst the most substantial linen drapers in the city with rack rents assessed at £100 and £118, and stocks of £800 and £400 respectively. They each employed four menservants (Appendix C1). Benjamin Thorowgood was a cadet son of Alderman Richard Thorowgood who had traded as a linen draper in Fenchurch Street.<sup>29</sup> Like his father, Benjamin was concerned with City government, being elected alderman in 1683 and Sheriff in 1685, when he was also knighted. Apart from the Thorowgoods a number of other linen drapers served as aldermen including Edward Honywood, James Barron, Ralph Ingram and Sir Thomas Abney.<sup>30</sup> They, together with most of the major linen drapers were members of one of the great twelve City companies, reflecting the elite nature of the trade.

The costs were high to establish and run a substantial wholesale/retail operation with adequate space to store large quantities of linens and to provide elegant surroundings in which to display goods to retail customers. Francis Jenkes' shop on the ground floor of his house was divided from the counting house by a screen and was equipped with counters, cases and leather chairs. The shop was lit by three sash windows and both rooms heated with stall grates.<sup>31</sup> John Sherman's shop and 'counting house' were similarly equipped but in addition were hung with tapestry.<sup>32</sup> Rents were high for such premises with half the linen drapers in 1692 being assessed for rack rents of £50 or more, with seventeen in excess of £100 (Appendix C1). In *The London Tradesman* of 1747, Campbell considered that a linen draper required starting capital of between £1,000 and £4,000, whereas Collyer in 1761 thought that £1,000 was needed for a genteel retail shop.<sup>33</sup> In the Poll Tax returns, stocks were assessed within notional bands rather than being actually valued which gives them a comparative value but no guide to the validity of

<sup>27</sup> Davis (1966), 196.

<sup>28</sup> V & A, RC U 21, Woburn Abbey bills 1666-93.

129, 20th January 1683, 'Bought of Benjamin Thorowgood and John Dod'.

Includes plain tabling, 'Flexen' napkins, and Holland diaper tablecloths and napkins.

V & A, RCK 3, Bedford Haberdashery Bills, 'Bought of Tho. Salter', includes napery.

<sup>29</sup> Richard Thorowgood bought linens from the merchant William Atwood.

PRO, C109/19 Bundle 6. 'Ballance for the Partable Acct in thirds', 31st Dec. 1654, Thorowgood has four entries with a debt totalling £715.9.0.

<sup>30</sup> Beaven (1913).

<sup>31</sup> 1687 JENKES.

<sup>32</sup> 1723 SHERMAN. For the design of shop interiors, see Walsh (1995).

<sup>33</sup> Cited in Earle (1989), Table 4.1, 107.



Campbell's figures. However, a sample of linen drapers' inventories from the Orphans' Court shows that several thousand pounds could be employed in trade stocks: Fisher Dilke in 1680 had some £1,500 of wares; Andrew Kenrick in 1690, £3,300; and in 1729 Stephen Aynsworth's share of the co-partnership with Mr Timothy Cockshutt and Mr Jn<sup>o</sup>. Billers was £4,000 (Appendix C4).

Ignoring household goods, the capital employed in a linen draper's business was not only the value of the wares but also ready money and the balance between debts and credits. Thus Fisher Dilke had capital employed of some £2,000 (£1,496 wares + £1,033 ready money + £1,736 debts - £2,259 credits) and Andrew Kenrick about £8,000 (£3,320 wares + £43 ready money + £14,770 debts - £10,035 credits). These simple calculations presuppose that the debtors in due course discharged their debts. If they failed to do so, the debts would become losses and the capital employed rise. As in a number of cases some of the debts were deemed 'desperate' the capital employed was effectively higher. William Greene in 1670 had desperate debts of £1,899 giving his capital employed as £2,942 (£1,514 wares + £56 ready money + £4,799 debts - £3,427 credits). If these debts were recovered his capital employed would be only £1,043 (Appendix C4).

For wholesale linen drapers driving a considerable trade, efficient debt collection was essential, coupled with the negotiation of advantageous credit terms with the overseas merchants.<sup>34</sup> The merchant William Attwood's ledgers show that diverse credit terms could be agreed with payment due between one and ten months. Despite the agreements, payment was rarely on time and Attwood did not charge interest on the excess. Typical of many examples is the account of

1659 Feb 16 By Augustine Drey & Wm Bucknell to pay at 6 m <sup>o</sup> .	
10 ps of fine hempen q <sup>t</sup> 497 ells at 6½[d.]	£13. 9. 2
27 ps Ossinbrigs q <sup>t</sup> 1232 ells @ 56 <sup>li</sup> p. 1500	<u>£45.19.10</u>
	<u>£59. 9. 0</u>

Payment was recorded 'by cash' on Oct 6th, seven weeks late.

The unit cost from Attwood appears to have depended upon both the credit term and the quantity: Augustine Drey & Wm Bucknell were charged 6½d per ell for 497 ells of fine hempen at 6 months; William Gilly 6d per ell for 3303 ells at 5 months; and James Barron 5¾d per ell for 3800 ells at one month. Some contracts allowed interest to be paid by Attwood for settlement within the credit term: John Brett on 30th March 1660 agreed to pay at '9 months to Rebate in 14 days' - he paid cash on 5th May and was allowed a rebate at 6 per cent.<sup>35</sup>

<sup>34</sup> Linen drapers regularly took legal action to recover debts; see Earle (1989), 409-414.

<sup>35</sup> C109/21 part 2, Large Ledger 1654-1663, 71-74.

Attwood's ledgers also illustrate that partnerships were not uncommon among the larger linen drapers. Partners were sometimes related by blood or marriage such as John and Michael Turner, or Roger Gray and his cousin James Barron.<sup>36</sup> The partnership indenture of 1698 between Abel Wilkinson and John Timbrell indicates the areas of mutual concern. The agreement was for seven years to trade together from The Star in Cheapside, each providing £1,000 of capital. They clearly intended to trade in all goods jointly as they were 'not to trade privately as a linnendraper without the consent of the other'.<sup>37</sup> It appears that this was the standard pattern, unlike the major overseas merchant who sometimes had several partnerships for different commodities running concurrently.<sup>38</sup> None the less, as with the merchants, the partners did not necessarily have equal shares; for example, Thomas Berriffe had two-thirds of his partnership with George Dyer.<sup>39</sup> Partnerships were dissolved either on the death of one of the partners or at the end of the term. This could mean that some linen drapers worked with a succession of partners. The partnership of Stephen Aynsworth, Timothy Cockshutt and John Billers was dissolved on Aynsworth's death in 1729. The next year among those recommended to de Neufville was John Billers & Co. and subsequently the 1740 directory included Cockshutt & Frie (Appendix C2).

These partnerships spread the financial risks in a trade that had a considerable rate of bankruptcy, although it did not compare with that of tavern keepers or overseas merchants.<sup>40</sup> Indeed one of the inventory sample, Andrew Kenrick, was apparently insolvent.<sup>41</sup> In the late eighteenth century,

The infant 'Thunderer' was told that 'The nobility game with dice - the ladies with cards - the linen drapers with bills - and the lower class with lottery tickets . . . and the consequences are proportioned to the quality of the gamblers, being in four words, SUICIDE, ADULTERY, BANKRUPTCY, and the GALLOWS!'<sup>42</sup>

### c) *Wares*

Campbell, perhaps because he was considering retail rather than wholesale trade, did not acknowledge the financial skills required of the successful linen draper, but was very aware of the necessity to have an intimate knowledge of the goods.

36 In his will, PRO Prob.11/324, sig. 103, 2 Aug. 1667, James Baron left 'to my cousin Mr Roger Gray and his wife' £30. On his death, Gray owed James's widow Mrs Anne Baron £505, 1686 GRAY.

37 Guildhall 20347 Indenture 24 June 1698.

38 A possible exception was the partnership of Thomas Came and Dudley Short. Atwood's debtors in the 1654 account included three entries for Came, a further three for Short and a single entry for 'Tho. Came & Dudley Shorte - July next at bristow', C109/19 Bundle 6. There is no reference to this partnership in Came's inventory in 1673, simply his extensive wares in London and in Bristol.

39 1681 BERRIFFE.

40 Earle (1989), 123-130, 364 n. 35.

41 1690 KENRICK. If all his debts were collected, there was a deficit of £1,026. However, he had property in Hertfordshire and his father Alderman Andrew Kenrick also left him lands in Kent in his will of 1652. PRO Prob.11/231, sig. 329.

42 *The Times*, 9 June 1788, quoted in Hoppit (1987), 137.

His Skill consists in a perfect knowledge of the Linen Manufacture in general, the Difference between the different Fabricks, and the Properties of the Linens of all different Countries: His Business, as he is a Mere Buyer and Seller of one particular Commodity, is easily acquired; but his Education ought to be genteel, as his Stock in Business entitles him to the first Rank of Tradesmen.

The greater Number of Articles they sell, the greater Memory and Acuteness is required; but a moderate Share of Wit serves their Turn in general.<sup>43</sup>

The number of articles sold by the linen drapers within the inventory sample was considerable, with typically fifty to a hundred lines. Their wares fell into two main categories: linens and Indian cottons. Most of the linens were white but some were dyed in plain colours, often in blue, and others were printed. The Indian cottons included white calicoes but also many dyed and printed cloths. Some linens and cottons were glazed and others calendered. London linen drapers paid subcontractors to carry out a number of finishing operations including bleaching, dyeing, glazing, calendering and possibly printing. During the seventeenth century their wares often included a third category of mixed fabrics principally fustians. In 1670, William Greene's trade goods comprised by value 50 per cent linens, 35 per cent fustians and 15 per cent Indian cottons. In the eighteenth century neither the inventory of Richard Cocke in 1714 or John Sherman in 1723 contained fustians, but they exhibited an opposite specialisation for Cocke's wares had some 80 per cent Indian cottons but Sherman's 90 per cent linens (Appendix C4).

The range of linens varied considerably with some linen drapers specialising in German cloth, others in Dutch and Flemish, with a few stocking linens from all the main weaving areas. About half of the inventory sample stocked some damask and diaper. In the seventeenth century much of this was from Germany with some from the Low Countries and France. In the eighteenth century diaper from both Ireland and Russia was found.

In 1670, William Greene of Friday Street stocked a wide range of linens from the Low Countries ('Isingham', Gentish Cloth, Holland and cambric), Germany ('Slecia', 'Pomers', 'Osenbrigs', 'Brunswicks' and 'Hartfords'), France (Rouen canvas and lockram), and the Baltic ('Crocus'). His wares included a parcel of cheap diaper napkins which may have been German, as among Greene's creditors were several importers of Sletia diaper from Hamburg including Peter Vandermarsh, John Lethieulier and Jeremy Elwes. Alternatively, the napkins may have been of Portuguese diaper, as another creditor was James Whitehall who imported diaper from Terceira in the Azores.<sup>44</sup> Greene also

<sup>43</sup> Campbell (1747)\*, 282.

<sup>44</sup> Greene owed him £106.5.0.

The appraisers of Whitehall's wares were John Gold and Stephen Bearcroft. In the inventory dated 11 April 1676, a group of goods, 'Island Lynnen', woad and diaper were linked together with <sup>2</sup>/<sub>3</sub> belonging

bought some of his goods from other linen drapers including Samuel Ongly, William Barron and Benjamin Thorowgood. His coloured linens and calicoes may have been dyed in London as he owed nearly £200 to William Cleeve, a substantial dyer in Cripplegate.<sup>45</sup>

Fisher Dilke in 1680 also stocked a wide variety of linens from Germany, Flanders, Holland and France including suites of Sletia diaper and pieces of Sletia damask napkinning. He seems to have sold wholesale to linen drapers in both London and the country as his debtors typically included Mr [Thomas] Abney of London and Robert Brown of Norwich. He also bought from other linen drapers as among his creditors were Benjamin Thorowgood and Mr [Francis] Jenkes & partner. None the less his principal creditors were overseas merchants, Richard Bancks, Christopher Hamilton, John Hyde & ptnr, John Lamb and Mr [John] Morrice. Apart from John Lamb who imported Flemish linen, any of these merchants could have supplied the Sletia diaper and damask to Dilke, although Bancks was the major importer at that time.<sup>46</sup> Roger Gray in 1686 also stocked diaper (5½ suites, 68 tablecloths and 231 dozen napkins) which from its price was presumably Sletia, bought from his creditors John Morris [Morrice] or John Delachambre who were consignees of Sletia diaper in 1685.<sup>47</sup>

On Andrew Kenrick's death early in 1691, his goods were sold 'by Inch of Candle' at an auction on 5th March. The buyers included a number of the wealthier linen drapers in the 1692 list.<sup>48</sup> The lots incorporated Holland and Sletia damask and diaper, and French diaper. His debts which amounted to nearly £15,000 included many described as 'upon a booke debt', owing mainly to overseas merchants. Numbered among them were the principal importers of damask and diaper at that time: Alexander Pope, John Hillersden and John Waller from Flanders; Sir William Scawen, Peter Vansittart, Rich. Banks, Jeremy Elwes, John Morris [Morrice], John Lloyd, John Delachambre and Gerard Vanheythusson [Vanhuson] from Germany; and James Waite [Wayte] from France.

There were also monies owed to two Cripplegate dyers William Toone and Peter Sands. Kenrick stocked quantities of 'collored buckoram' and blue German linens, possibly dyed by Toone who, from the evidence of his dyehouse equipment was an indigo dyer specialising in buckram.<sup>49</sup> Kenrick probably used other subcontractors including a bleacher or 'whitster', glazer, calenderer and possibly a linen and cotton printer, as among his wares

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to Whitehall. His outstanding adventures included one at St Michael's Island and another at Terciera, both in the Azores. Later that year on 5 August 1676, his widow Elizabeth Whitehall and Stephen Bearcroft were each consigned parcels of diaper napkinning and tabling from Terceira. E190/64/1.

45 Mitchell (1995A), Figs 1-3.

46 1680 DILKE.

47 1686 GRAY.

48 1691 KENRICK. Appendix C1, Fran. Camfield, Henry Kellsey, Arthur Evans, William Broome, Sam. Wood, William Arnold, William Withers, John Strickson, James Bennett, Ben. Smith, Ben. Wilson, Sam. Harris, James Parker, Mr [John] Cuttlove.

49 1700 SAND, 1717 TOONE. Their businesses are discussed in Mitchell (1995A).

were 'English whited hollands', 'Lon<sup>o</sup>. Clo. Glaz. and Cullerd', 'printed Lynning', and 'died and watered bengale'.<sup>50</sup> Calenders could be used in the watering of cloth to produce a waved effect and also to give a fine finish to plain and figured linens. Although most good quality linens were finished before shipment, some cheaper linens or those damaged in transit were bleached and finished in London as most of the linen drapers in the sample had 'whitsters' among their creditors.<sup>51</sup> The linens and calicoes that were dyed in London would also need to be finished sometimes by glazing or by calendering.<sup>52</sup>

Andrew Kenrick's other debts were owed 'upon a bond in full for Principall and Interest'. These debts which amounted to almost £9,000 of the total of £14,770, were capital loans to finance Kenrick's trade from family, friends, tradesmen and merchants. Among the larger creditors were his uncle Matthew Kenrick, the linen draper John Billers, the merchant William Vandenberg, and Susanne Letten, the widow of the linen merchant John Letten.<sup>53</sup> Kenrick does not seem to have borrowed money from any goldsmith bankers, unlike William Greene and Thomas Came who had modest debts owing to George Day, a goldsmith-banker, who had been actively engaged with William Atwood in the 1660s.<sup>54</sup>

One of the purchasers of damask at the auction of Kenrick's goods was the linen draper Richard Cocke who died twenty-three years later in 1714. The balance of his trade was very different from Kenrick's as only 18 per cent was in linens and the rest in East India goods. None the less his linens which were valued at £940 included an array of plain cloth from Holland, Flanders, Germany, the Baltic and France, together with Holland and Sletia diaper. In addition Cocke carried Irish diaper and English huckabacks.<sup>55</sup> Also unlike Kenrick, Cocke was directly involved in overseas trade with over £2,000 of East Indian cloths in the hands of James Ellwick of Amsterdam.<sup>56</sup> He does not seem, however, to have imported linens on his own behalf as his creditors included Sir Thomas Scawen and several of the German and Dutch linen merchants resident in London, Clement Boehm, Abraham Crasteyn and Abraham Crop.<sup>57</sup> Cocke had an active trade with other London

50 Montgomery (1984) states that many Bengals were of mixed cotton or silk. To produce a 'watered' or moiré effect the cloth was folded or wound on rollers, watered, and pressure exerted either in a hot press or a calender.

51 1675 POCOCKE 'Roger Langstrafe Whitster £13.6.0'; 1675 TOOKER 'Mr Syddal' £7.3.0; 1678 PRESTON 'Mr Siddall Whitster' £26.2.0; 1681 BERRIFFE 'Mrs Sydwall' £4.11.8; 1687 JENKES 'Mr Styles a Witster to Ballance' £35.9.0; 1723 SHERMAN 'Thos. Selby Whister' £3.8.0.

52 1686 GRAY 'to Callenders & Dyers £131.2.0; 1718 TURNER 'Glazer & Callender' £5.11.0.

53 Matthew Kenrick was one of Alderman Andrew Kenrick's executors. John Billers, see Appendix C2. William Vandenberg was the son of Peter Vandenberg of Kortrijk and was naturalised in 1660. He was elected deacon of the Dutch Church in 1666 [Guilliam van den Berge]. John and Nathaniel Letten were brothers and both were overseas merchants in the linen trade. Susanne was sole executrix of John's will of 1687. Prob.11/393, sig. 163.

54 C109/21 Part I, Ledger, 19 and Part 2, Large Ledger, 108, 130, 140 and 142.

55 1714 COCKE. Ten years earlier John Parker's stock included a piece of Irish diaper tabling, 12 yds at 3s per yd, 1706 PARKER.

56 Parker may have had a similar trade for 'James Elwick' of Amsterdam owed him £244.14.11.

57 Cocke along with other London linen drapers ('James Taylor & Co., Richard & Wm Chaunsey, Abel Wilkinson, Samuel and John Wood, and William Pomeroy') were debtors to the merchant Peter Vansittart in 1706. Vansittart seems to have imported a limited range of linens in large quantities.

linen drapers, with Richard Chauncy, William Taggart and the royal linen draper Henry Warcop numbered among his debtors.

John Sherman's inventory of 1723 included an assortment of linens with quantities of 'Garlicks' and 'Dowlas' (probably German) and plain Irish linen. Sherman had no Holland damask or diaper, but like Cocke he stocked Irish diaper and in addition Russian diaper. He purchased linens from overseas merchants such as Sir Thomas Scawen, William Vandenberg, John Dupré and 'Messrs Voguell & Goebell', as well as from the linen draper 'Mr Wm Swann'.<sup>58</sup> Apart from these purchases, Sherman also imported linens directly from the Continent as he 'paid customs & Charges for Sundry Linnens' £32.0.11.<sup>59</sup> This is in line with Negley Harte's findings that from early in the eighteenth century, linen houses in Hamburg and Amsterdam attempted to eliminate the merchant middleman by dealing directly with London linen drapers.

In 1730 the London merchants Claude Fonnereau & Son wrote to J I de Neufville & Co., one of the largest Dutch linen-exporting houses, explaining that they had large unsold stocks of linen on their hands and that they no longer intended to deal in linen on their own accounts. They explained that 'our linen drapers imports more and more, so not find our account in laying out money in linens . . . '.

Three years later another London merchant . . . Alexander Fobes wrote to de Neufville, 'Every draper who formerly were my customers for hollands linen hath now his correspondent in Amsterdam and other parts of Holland so that he hath no occasion to buy any here.'<sup>60</sup>

#### *d) Royal linen drapers*

The royal household was the single largest customer of 'Holland' damask and diaper throughout the period from 1450 to 1750. Between 1660 and the switch to Irish linen in 1737, it often purchased more than a quarter of the total recorded imports of Flemish and Dutch damask and a tenth of the diaper (Table 6.1). From the Restoration, purchases of napery were made by the Board of the Greencloth, sometimes through royal officers in the Low Countries but normally from the royal linen drapers. At any particular time, one or two linen drapers received warrants of appointment from the Lord Steward and had the

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His inventory included stocks of 680 doz. fringed napkins and 1451 fringed tablecloths (presumably Sletia damask). His goods in England totalled £4896, of which £2016 were linens, 1706 VANSITTART. For Scawen and Boehm, see Tables 5.15 and 5.16. For Crasteyn and Crop, see Eeghen (1959), 1649, 1682 & 927.

58 For Dupré, and Voguell & Goebell, see Eeghen (1959), 927 & 1344. For Swann, see Appendices C1 & C2.

59 Sherman also reimbursed the dyer Gabriel Kent for duty on 378 yards of linen £4.14.6, presumably paid on his behalf. In addition to this 'Gabriel Kent Dyer' was owed £100. 1723 SHERMAN.

60 Harte (1973), 87-88. Claude Fonnereau was a creditor to both 1714 COCKE & 1728 COLLYER. An Alexander Forbes who may possibly be identified with Fobes, was a creditor to 1723 SHERMAN.

right to display the Royal Arms over the doors of their shops.<sup>61</sup> They signed annual contracts to supply several qualities of damask, diaper and plain linen at fixed prices.

TABLE 6.1 PROPORTION OF TOTAL IMPORTS OF 'HOLLAND' DAMASK AND DIAPER PURCHASED BY THE ROYAL HOUSEHOLD, 1672-1737  
(By quantity - equivalent lengths in 'yds')

REIGN AND PERIOD	DAMASK			DIAPER		
	Royal household purchases	Total imports	Purchases as proportion of imports	Royal household purchases	Total imports	Purchases as proportion of imports
	'yds'	'yds'	%	'yds'	'yds'	%
CHARLES II 8 years between 1672 & 1683 <sup>a</sup>	10280	48890	21	10020	185610	5
JAMES II 2 years 1685 & 1686 <sup>a</sup>	3860	35070	11	7280	62020	12
ANNE 10 years between 1703 & 1714 <sup>b</sup>	13480	38020	35	22210	115320	19
GEORGE I All 13 years between 1715 & 1727 <sup>b</sup>	12210	63730	19	26330	294760	7
GEORGE II All 10 years between 1728 & 1737 <sup>b</sup>	28350	48010	59	45640	181370	25
SUMMARY 43 years between 1672 & 1737	68180	233720	29	111480	839050	13

Notes:

- a Household purchases from the Lord Steward's records and imports from the London port books when they survive for both Merchant Strangers and English Merchants in the same year (Appendix B2).
- b Household purchases from the Lord Steward's records and imports from the Inspector General's ledgers (Appendix B3).

Royal linen drapers were appointed from the beginning of the seventeenth century and probably earlier. In 1608, the system that was to be used after 1660 seemed to be in place, for a list was prepared revising the prices of particular qualities of napery 'by reason of an imposition lately laid'. Thus damask tabling for the King, the best at 18s per yd had a 'new price' of 19s. It seems reasonable to infer that this was an alteration to contract prices previously agreed with a linen draper. In 1618 there was a similar priced list of napery 'for the expence of his Maties house agreed to be served by Robert Clarke Linnen Draper'.<sup>62</sup> In 1620, the contractual system was altered and 'Robert Clarke his Ma: Lynen Draper' was given a five-year contract or 'bargaine', at the rate of £720 per annum 'to serve his Maties and all other tables, persons and places with all manner of Naperie as they Formly and usually have binn served'.<sup>63</sup>

61 LS13/115, 128, 14 Oct. 1724, 'Mr Goodchild late Linnendrapier to His Matie haveing continued the Kings Arms over his door since the time of his being dismissed ...'.

62 LS13/168, 249 & 397.

63 LS13/168, 1 Oct. 1620.



At the Restoration, the household was completely re-equipped with napery. This was supplied by a number of linen drapers, presumably because the royal linen draper Miles Martin did not have sufficient stocks. Martin agreed a contract with the Greencloth on 4th February 1662 for linen that he had supplied since his 'Ma<sup>ts</sup> happy restauracon' until the following 1st October 1662.<sup>64</sup> He remained royal linen draper until 1685. The following year two parcels of French diaper were consigned to Miles Martin from Caen - an early direct involvement in overseas trade by a linen draper.<sup>65</sup>

Martin was replaced by Francis Brerewood who in turn was superseded by Matthew Cupper in 1689. In 1692 Brerewood was assessed in the Ward of Cornhill for a rack rent of £60 and stocks of £400, and was one of the few linen drapers in the City to own a coach (Appendix C1). Matthew Cupper served as royal linen draper until the summer of 1708 when William Cupper, probably his son, supplied table linen to the 'riding household' accompanying the Queen of Portugal from Holland to Lisbon.<sup>66</sup> William continued to supply the household until 1714. Four years later he was granted a pension by the Crown as,

it hath been humbly represented unto us, That William Cupper is reduced to great poverty by severall Losses he has sustain'd whereby he was render'd incapable of performing our Service, and is now destitute of a Livelyhood.<sup>67</sup>

TABLE 6.2 ROYAL LINEN DRAPERS, 1620-1764

NAME		PERIOD
Robert	CLARKE	1620-25
Richard	DOWNES	c.1627
Miles	MARTIN	1661-85
Francis	BREREWOOD	1685-90
Matthew	CUPPER	1690-1708
William	CUPPER	1708-14
John	DAY & William CLAYTON	1714-16
John	DAY & Cecil WRAY	1716-20
John	DAY & Henry WARCOP	1720-45
John	DAY	1745-57
Sam.	BRAGG & Will. HEWER	1758-60
Sam.	BRAGG, John GOODCHILD & Tho. BALACK	1760-63?
Thomas	BALACK & John GOODCHILD	1763-64

John Day, possibly briefly in partnership with William Clayton, took over in 1714 and supplied the household for over forty years until 1757. For part of this time he was in partnership with Cecil Wray and then with Henry Warcop (Table 6.2). During this period

<sup>64</sup> LS1/4, 'Annotacons'.

<sup>65</sup> E190/143/1, 514v, 3 Aug & 653v, 2 Oct. 1686.

<sup>66</sup> LS1/51, 'Annot.'

<sup>67</sup> LS13/260, 19 Feb 1718, Pension of £36.10.0.

the minutes of the Board of the Greencloth illustrate the procedure for the provision of new table linen. In December, a meeting was held between the officers of the Greencloth, with the Gentleman of the Ewery in attendance, and the royal linen draper when samples of damask, diaper and plain cloth were tabled and prices agreed for the coming year. Details of the agreement were inscribed in the 'Entry Book of Contracts' and countersigned by the linen draper.<sup>68</sup> The samples were left with the Board.<sup>69</sup> During the year, when advised by the Gentleman of the Ewery that new supplies were required, the Board instructed the linen draper to bring cloth for their approval.

That Mr Day Linnen Drapier attend y<sup>e</sup> Board next Tuesday  
with Damask for Napkining, and Diaper for Tabling &  
Napkining for y<sup>e</sup> Service.

Mr Poulter [Gentleman of the Ewery] proposes to be made  
new

Damask napkins		30 doz
Diaper napkins		60 doz
Diaper Table Cloths	)	
2 yards <sup>3</sup> / <sub>4</sub> each	)	100 cloths
Guard Cloths		24 cloths <sup>70</sup>

On occasion, Day could not obtain the same quality as in his contract; for example, in May 1716,

Mr Day produc'd a sample of Damask & Diap<sup>r</sup> tableing and  
Napkining w<sup>c</sup> being a better sort that was serv'd before the  
Board contracted for 11s per yard for Damask Tableing and  
3s 8d per yd for Damask Napkining and 9s 6d per yard for  
Diap<sup>r</sup> tableing & 3s 2d per yd Napkining.<sup>71</sup>

John Day supplied some £600 of linens yearly to George I's household and double that quantity to George II's. However, like the other royal linen drapers he did not solely serve the crown. Clearly, he stocked a range of Dutch and Flemish damask and diaper both for the royal household and other wealthy customers, but in addition appears to have had a considerable trade in German linens, as he was prominent among Peter Vansittart's debtors in 1706.<sup>72</sup>

<sup>68</sup> LS13/22. There are a series of contracts for John Day and Cecil Wray, and from December 1721, for John Day and Henry Warcop.

<sup>69</sup> LS13/115, 23, 2 August 1715,

Mr Day Linnen-Drapier brought samples of Bruxells and Canvas, and 2 parcells were approv'd of for y<sup>e</sup> use of y<sup>e</sup> Scullery kitchens & all offices, at y<sup>e</sup> prizes under menconed, Patterns being now left at y<sup>e</sup> Board . . .

<sup>70</sup> LS13.115, 23v.

<sup>71</sup> LS13/115, 44v, 8 May 1716. In October 1715, Day had supplied damask napkins at 3s 6d per yd; diaper tabling at 9s per yd and napkining at 3s per yd. LS1/60.

<sup>72</sup> 1706 VANSITTART, John Day owed £812.9.0.

The royal linen drapers illustrate the eventual westward movement of the luxury retail trade with Francis Brerewood in the heart of the City in Cornhill in 1692 but by the mid-eighteenth century, Samuel Bragg in Covent Garden, Thomas Balack off the Strand and John Stewart, the Queen's linen draper in New Bond Street.<sup>73</sup>

### 6.3 THE RETAIL CUSTOMER

During the seventeenth century owing to greater availability and lower real cost, the ownership of damask and diaper napery spread to 'the middling sort'. For lawyers and gentry who visited London regularly and for tradesmen and merchants who lived in the City, it could be bought by a short walk to a linen draper. Pepys wrote in his Diary on 12 November 1660,

From thence walked to my father's, where I found my wife (who hath been with my father today buying of a tablecloth and a dozen of napkins of Diaper, the first that ever I bought in my life).<sup>74</sup>

For those living in the country, friends and relatives either visiting or living in London were given detailed instructions as to what was required and how it was to be sent.<sup>75</sup> Early in the century the Household books of Lord William Howard of Naworth Castle, Cumberland, recorded purchases of plain linen in Carlisle but most damask and diaper among the 'London accounts'. In 1625 a local landowner, Mr Blenerhasset was reimbursed for a damask tablecloth which he presumably had brought from London. An exception occurred in 1633 when ten dozen napkins were 'bought in Lancashire'. These were likely to have been of diaper, either locally woven or imported, as they were of a similar price to diaper napkins purchased previously in London.<sup>76</sup>

The availability of damask and diaper napery in mercers' shops in the more fashionable provincial towns like Lancaster and York is unclear. The 1643 inventory of Thomas Cowcher, mercer of Worcester included linens from all the continental sources as well as calicoes, silk, mixed fabrics and haberdashery wares. His linens ranged widely from crocus at 6½d per ell to cambricks at 6s 8d per ell, but did not feature any diaper or damask table linen. Cowcher had an extensive trade and was a leading citizen of

<sup>73</sup> Appendix C1, *Universal Director* (1763)\* & Heal (1957).

<sup>74</sup> Latham & Matthews (1974)\*, 1/290. Samuel's father, John Pepys was a tailor by trade and would have been a judge of both the quality of linen and the linen draper.

<sup>75</sup> See Vickery (1993), 274-301.

<sup>76</sup> Howard (1878)\*.

206, 23 Nov 1623	9 doz 'dyper' napkins £5, i.e. 11s 2d per doz.
251            1628	4 doz 'diper' napkins 48s, i.e. 12s per doz.
327, 25 Sept 1633	10 doz. of napkins bought in Lancashire £6, i.e. 12s per doz.

Worcester; an alderman and one of the two burgesses to serve in a number of parliaments.<sup>77</sup>

In the eighteenth century, huckaback from Lancashire together with diaper from Darlington was probably available in the principal towns in the north, as well as Sletia napery imported through London or the outports. None the less, there are indications in the papers of John Hudson that even in the 1730s, the best napery did not have a ready sale in the provinces.

Hudson, a linen draper at the Black Lyon, Gracechurch Street, sold Irish linens on commission for the Dublin merchants, Elijah Chamberlain and William Clarke.<sup>78</sup> Although Chamberlain regularly took parcels of Irish linen to both the Chester and Wrexham Fairs, in 1734 he sent a 'Truss of Choice Linnen' of fine tabling and napkining to London for Hudson to sell on his behalf, explaining that he had not taken it to the Wrexham Fair.<sup>79</sup>

The great range of linens of differing qualities and a plethora of names which have mystified several generations of historians also clearly confused the contemporary public. In response, a book was published in London in 1696 entitled *The Merchant's Ware-house laid open: Or, the Plain Dealing Linnen-Draper*. In the introductory 'Epistle to the Courteous Reader', the author J.F. explained the reasons for the work,

The great difficulty it is for most people to know good Linnen from bad, by reason many sorts of Linnen are very good in appearance and yet wear like Paper, and other sorts again appear very thin and ill, yet wear the best of Cloth.

I shall present you with such Instructions how to know them, that the meanest Capacity shall know all, or most sorts of Cloth, that they shall have occasion to use . . .<sup>80</sup>

During the seventeenth century, apart from London or provincial linen drapers, plain linens could be bought from petty chapmen, or pedlars and both plain and figured linen from smugglers, particularly it seems in the West Country.<sup>81</sup> In the previous century, napery was imported by individuals for their own use and the London Port Books record a number of such parcels, in the main consigned to the nobility. Apart from Flemish diaper and damask consigned in London to the Earl of Arundel and to the Duchess of Suffolk in 1565,

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<sup>77</sup> 1643 COWCHER.

<sup>78</sup> C105/15, e.g. 17 Dec 1731 Will<sup>m</sup> Clarke, Dublin, to James Hudson 'on acc<sup>t</sup> & Risque of Jenepher Watson & consigned to James Hudson to sell for her account'  
2 ps 10/4 wd Diaper, 25 yds at 5s and 2 ps Tea Napkins 59 yds at 18d.

<sup>79</sup> C105/15, c. Jan. 1734, Chamberlain to Hudson.

<sup>80</sup> J.F. (1696)\*.

<sup>81</sup> Blencowe (1848)\*, 79, 1659, Rev. Giles Moore's accounts, 'I pay'd to a Scotch pedlar coming to the door, for 1 ell of Holland to make mee an apron' 2s.

HMC 25(1890)\*, Sir Daniel Fleming's accounts, 371, 'Paid by my wife unto a Lancashire pedlor for four yards of holland' £1.

For smuggling, see Chapter 4.3.

the following year the Duke of Norfolk imported through Yarmouth a range of goods including diaper napery presumably destined for his great house, Keninghall in Norfolk.<sup>82</sup> Much later, in the second half of the seventeenth century there were several interesting personal consignments of napery. On 1 March 1672, just weeks before England and France were at war with the United Provinces, the Earl of Lauderdale received a parcel of diaper from Rotterdam.<sup>83</sup> Lauderdale had married Elizabeth Murray, Countess of Dysart and owner of Ham House, in February and on 2 March 1672 was created a Duke. The 1679 inventory of the 'Linnen at Ham' had an extensive list of 'fine Diaper' including some 'brought out of Holland'.<sup>84</sup> In December 1672, after war with the Dutch had been declared, a further shipment from Rotterdam was consigned in London to the Earl of Arlington, the King's first secretary.<sup>85</sup> At this time Arlington was engaged in secret discussions through an agent with the States General.<sup>86</sup> Although it is an intriguing conceit to imagine that the receipt of these three cases of fine linen was directly connected with these discussions, there may be a more prosaic explanation, for Arlington had married in 1666 Isabella, daughter of Louis of Nassau and kinswoman of William of Orange. Pepys would have held to the conceit, for it has been inferred from an entry in his Diary in 1669 that he believed Arlington had been bought by the Dutch.<sup>87</sup>

It was not only Holland damask and diaper that was imported in this way, for Lady Bath imported a large quantity of Sletia diaper from Hamburg in 1681, the Earl of Moray damask from Scotland in 1683 and the Countess of Anglesey diaper from Ireland in 1686.<sup>88</sup>

#### 6.4 CONCLUSIONS

Until the middle of the sixteenth century, damask and diaper table linen was sold to both wholesale and retail customers by the importing merchant as well as by City mercers who dealt in both silks and linens. Thereafter, there was a bifurcation with overseas trade

<sup>82</sup> E190/471/7, Yarmouth Port Book, 10v.

<sup>83</sup> E190/58/, 65, 1 March 1671, No. 5, Earle Lothredell . . . 7 yds Diaper tabling and 35 yds of 'Dyaper napkining and toweling'.

<sup>84</sup> Thornton & Tomlin (1980), 175.

<sup>85</sup> E190/58/1, 445, 13 December 1672, No. 51 Earle Arlington in W<sup>m</sup> Ricketts at Rotterd. 3 cases cont. 348 ells linen, 20 yds damask tabling, 80 yds damask napk. 29 yds diaper tabling 190 yds diaper napkining.

<sup>86</sup> Hutton (1991), 295-6.

<sup>87</sup> *DNB*, vol. 2, 232, Arlington, 'at the end of 1673 to conclude a separate peace with the Dutch, from who he had long believed to be receiving bribes (Pepys 25 April 1669)'.

<sup>88</sup> E190/100/1, 7 April 1681, No. 9; Lady Bath includes 315 yds tabling & 470 yds Napkining Sletia diaper.

E190/121/1, 12 September 1683, No. 22, Earle of Murray in Tho Weir a Scotland 10 yds 'Dam. tabling' 120 yds 'ditto Napkin'.

E190/143/1, 27 May 1686, No. 43; Countess Anglsy in Capt. Eaton a Dublin, includes 55 yards Diaper Tabling & 288 yds Napking Diaper Sletia goodness.

confined to merchants and retailing to shopkeepers. The latter increasingly specialised either as mercers dealing in silks, velvets and mixed fabrics, or as linen drapers in linens, fustians and calicoes. Despite the prohibition against retailers indulging in overseas trade, there were complaints in both 1571 and 1592 that some strangers were ‘both Merchants and Retailers’, and in addition that,

the *retailing* of foreign Commodities by Strangers caused the Decay of *English* Retailers, in Ability, Number and Trade. For Example, the *English* Retailers of Linnen Cloth in *London* were to the Number of 160 or thereabouts, but now they were but 67, and the Strangers were encreased double in that Trade.<sup>89</sup>

Unfortunately, the evidence to check this second assertion is fragmentary. None the less, during the seventeenth century few men from stranger families traded as linen drapers, unlike the numbers that drove an import trade as merchants.<sup>90</sup> Until the middle of the eighteenth century, the major linen drapers remained in the City, concentrated in Cornhill and Cheapside. This was in contrast to other tradesmen in luxury goods, who like trawlers following shoals of herring, moved westward with their clientele. This suggests that the linen drapers’ operations were dominated by their wholesale trade.

There are few indications of specialisation within their trade with the larger businesses carrying many lines. It is possible, however, that the royal linen drapers concentrated upon table linens as they were required to deliver significant yearly quantities to the royal household. Throughout the whole period between 1450 and 1750 little good quality linen damask and diaper seems to have been available outside London.

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<sup>89</sup> Stripe (1720)\*, Book 5, 300.

<sup>90</sup> An exception may have been ‘Salomon Cole’ who supplied the set of damask of ‘hunting worke’ that the Dutch Church gave to the new Lord Mayor in 1627, Guildhall 7396/3, 136. On his death in 1663, Solomon was trading with his son William in the parish of St Michael le Querne, Will, Prob.11/312, sig. 128.





## CHAPTER 7 OWNERSHIP

*[It] is not Necessity that causeth the consumption: Nature may be Satisfied with little; but it is the wants of the Mind, Fashion and the desire of Novelties and Things scarce that causeth Trade.<sup>1</sup>*

- Nicholas Barbon, 1690

The ownership of goods forms the basis of two recent influential studies, by Lorna Weatherill and Carole Shammas, of the consumer in early modern England and America.<sup>2</sup> They use probate inventories to delineate the changing patterns of ownership of both groceries and consumer durables as well as their variation in price and systems of distribution. Although both authors discuss the ownership of table linen, neither differentiates between plain and figured linens. Paul Glennie's ongoing work on the English domestic market for linens is also based upon a systematic analysis of probate inventories. He has discussed both Weatherill's and Shammas' work and expressed serious concerns with the latter's conclusions about linen ownership and prices. He states,

Linen wealth needs to be 'unpacked': that for instance, it is necessary to consider the type of fabric of which a sheet or napkin is made and whether it is new or at the end of its useful life.<sup>3</sup>

Neither Shammas nor Glennie engage with the parallel debate concerning the motivation for conspicuous consumption.<sup>4</sup> Shammas even expresses some impatience with the notion of an eighteenth century 'consumer revolution'. Instead she adopts an alternative approach to uncover 'changes, variations, and trends, but no Origins of the Market, no Great Transformations in Consumer Consciousness'.<sup>5</sup>

This chapter also uses inventories but initially 'unpacks' the linen press to examine the changing patterns of ownership of table linen. It then analyses the relative investments in table linen, bed linen, plate and household goods including furniture, in order to consider the effects on consumer decisions of variable rates of price inflation for different goods.

### 7.1 PATTERNS OF OWNERSHIP, 1450-1600

Initially, the period will be considered between 1450, when it is likely that the first linen damasks were imported, and 1600, when Sletia diaper began to make a significant impact on the English market. Until the early sixteenth century, figured linens, irrespective of their

1 Barbon (1690)\*.

2 Weatherill (1988), Shammas (1990).

3 Glennie (1992)†.

4 Discussed for example in McKendrick, Brewer & Plumb (1982), 9-33. Weatherill (1988), 195-6.

5 Shammas (1990), 291 & 294.

weaving structure or the complexity of their patterns, were all described in English inventories as diaper.<sup>6</sup> In the late fifteenth century, the principal holdings of diaper were in the hands of the crown, the nobility, senior royal servants and the London merchant elite. In addition, some diaper table linen was owned by country gentlemen and the richer yeomen, West Country and Midland clothiers, and leading merchants in the provincial towns.

It is likely that the main purchaser of figured table linen was the crown. This is suggested by the size of the annual financial provision or household budget of 1470 for George, Duke of Clarence, contained in the Black Book of his brother Edward IV.

Proportions made by resonable Estimation for the  
Household by a Yere as after Ensuyth

Linnen Clothe - Item,

Canvas	200 ells at 40s	£4. 0. 0
Crescloth	4 pieces at 33s 4d	£5. 0. 0
Holland	100 ells at 6d	£2.10. 0
Holland	150 ells at 8d	£6.13. 4
Naperie of Devaunt	40 ells at 16d	£2.13. 4
Naperie of Paries	50 ells at 3s 4d	£8. 6. 8
Diapre	50 ells at 4s 6d	£11. 5. 0
Towelles	50 ells at 10d	£4. 3. 4
Napkyns of Parice	2 dozen at 12d	£1. 0. 0
Napkyns	1 dozen at 3s 4d	£2. 0. 0
		<u>£58.15. 8<sup>7</sup></u>

The budget for the King's household would doubtless have been greater. It is salutary to compare Clarence's budget with the napery valuations within the inventory sample which rarely totalled more than £2 or £3; the napery of John Holgrave, a Baron of the King's Exchequer, which included ten diaper tablecloths only totalled some £7 and even that of Robert Morton, a wealthy kinsman of Cardinal Morton, with fifteen diaper and twelve plain tablecloths as well as many towels and napkins at his houses in London and Standen, totalled just over £14 (Table 7.1).<sup>8</sup> Similar holdings of diaper were recorded in Sir William Stanley's inventory prepared on his attainder in 1495 on a charge of treasonably conspiring with the pretender Perkin Warbeck. Following his timely intervention at Bosworth Field, Sir William had been granted extensive lands and appointed Lord Chamberlain by Henry VII; he was subsequently reported to have become the richest commoner in England.<sup>9</sup>

6 There are occasional references to twill: 'j borde clothe of twylle', 1482 MAYOW and 'a tulle towell', 1494 HORSELEY. These descriptions possibly indicate locally woven cloth for the later inventory also includes 'a nolde dyaper towell'. Presumably there were recognisable differences either in the figure or the quality, as all imported diapers were also of twill weaves at this period.

7 Nichols (1790)\*, 84.

8 1487 HOLGRAVE.

1488 MORTON, Robert Morton's goods, ready money and 'sperate' debts totalled £1,366, including £282 in plate and jewellery. He owed £611 to his creditors. ['Sperate' debts were 'good' as opposed to 'desperate' and were likely to be repaid - from Latin 'sperare', to hope.]

9 Kendall (1955), 383. 1495 STANLEY, Sir William's napery included in diaper: 14 tablecloths, 47 long and short towels and 29 napkins.

TABLE 7.1 HOLDINGS OF DIAPER, 1475-99

DATE	NAME		TABLECLOTH NUMBERS*		NAPERY VALUA- TIONS	PROPORTION OF NAPERY BY VALUE (%)	
			Diaper	Plain		Total (£)	Diaper
GENTRY							
c.1475	Jeffrey	SHERARD, Esq	2	4	0.99	67	33
1487	John	PULTER	4	8	1.66	65	35
1488	Robert	MORTON	15	12	14.33	80	20
1488	John	ALFEGH, Esq	2	19	2.86	55	45
1489	Sir Richard	DARELL	3	0	2.08	N/A	N/A
1492	William	PUTTENHAM	6	5	1.89	67	33
1494	Dame Elenor	MANERS	1	0	0.37	N/A	N/A
1494	Willim	COVERTE	1	1	1.98	72	28
1495	Sir William	STANLEY	14	2	N/A	N/A	N/A
1495	Johann	OCLBY	5	1	3.79	97	3
1498	Mr John	TYCHEBORNE	2	6	1.07	63	37
1499	Hugh	SCHULDAM	3	6	5.92	66	34
LAWYERS AND PRIESTS							
1487	John	HOLGRAVE	10	1	6.80	97	3
1494	John	LEWYS	3	0	0.50	86	14
1499	John	MOWBREY	1	0	0.33	82	18
YEOMEN							
1491	Philip	MASON	2	0	N/A	N/A	N/A
1492	Katherine	BOWDEN	1	3	0.75	33	67
1493	John	SADLER	1	2	0.10	50	50
1494	Willim	SLATER	1	4	0.25	N/A	N/A
1494	Henry	LODE	2	4	1.00	67	33
1494	John	BOX	1	4	0.57	70	30
1495	Edward	COOK	2	0	0.30	100	0
1495	Hugh	COTES	1	13	0.35	57	43
1495	Richard	HYCHEN	1	7	0.65	N/A	N/A
1495	William	WARD	2	1	0.33	85	15
CLOTHIERS							
1482	Walter	MAYO	1	4	0.72	35	65
1487	John	CAMELL	1	2	1.47	N/A	N/A
1488	Walter	BRADWEY	3	4	4.27	88	18
1492	Robert	RYCHARDES	2	12	2.95	27	73
1494	Elizabeth	HORSELEY	3	1	1.20	56	44
c.1499	Margaret	PERKYNS	4	6	0.41	N/A	N/A
MERCHANTS AND TRADESMEN							
1483	Richard	BELE	5	0	1.40	100	0
1484	Thomas	GylBERT	5	7	3.05	73	27
1486	John	SKYRWYTH	6	11	5.98	74	26
1488	Thomas	COWPER	3	?	>1.46	N/A	N/A
1489	John	BARNYS	4	4	3.98	88	18
1489	John	WARDLEY	4	5	1.66	77	23
1490	Richard	SCOULE	1	1	0.24	29	71
1490	-	ROBYNSON	6	4	3.61	92	8
1490	William	YATES	2	3	0.60	58	42
1492	Thomas	MOWER	8	?	>6.34	N/A	N/A
1494	Richard	SYMSON	3	0	1.73	93	3
1494	Robert	WARYN	3	4	1.66	57	43
1495	John	HANSON	4	6	2.26	84	16
1495	Thomas	BARNARD	2	6	1.13	54	46
1495	Richard	LEMAN	6	5	3.81	62	38
1496	Gyls	GEORGE	4	3	2.96	70	30
1497	Richard	BROMER	10	3	4.60	94	6
1498	Christopher	KICHYN	6	0	N/A	N/A	N/A
1499	John	SPRISTROWE	5	0	1.73	100	0

\* Napery holdings included towels, cupboard cloths and napkins as well as tablecloths. However, tablecloths were the basic generators of sets of table linen and are used here for the sake of simplicity.

The sample also contains a number of landed gentry, including several knights and esquires, who owned between two and six diaper tablecloths and a number of plain cloths. John Pulter of Hitchen, Gentleman, was typical with four diaper and four plain tablecloths for his own table and a further four coarse cloths for 'plowmen tabilles'. Of the yeomen in Table 7.1, only Richard Hychen was actually described as 'yoman', the rest of the group being those clearly engaged in agriculture but not identified as knight, esquire or gentleman. Their napery holdings were modest, all valued at £1 or less, and contained just one or two diaper tablecloths and towels. In contrast, among the clothiers, Walter Bradwey owned three tablecloths, ten towels and six napkins, all of diaper. Such men were richer than most yeomen and many country gentlemen. They also had direct contact with London where most of their woollen cloths were sold, and where the best diaper was readily available.<sup>10</sup> Bradwey, for example, was owed £1,926 by three London merchants. He was clearly a cultured man who, in addition to gilt and white plate, owned 'a boke De Legend Aurea of prynted hand in englysse', presumably Caxton's most ambitious production, *The Golden Legend*, which had been published in 1483.<sup>11</sup>

Apart from the nobility and gentry, the other significant group was of London merchants and tradesmen. Several within the sample owned five or more diaper tablecloths with napery valuations in excess of £3.50. For example, Thomas Gylbert, a draper in Eastcheap, owned five diaper table cloths (four with 'crosse Dyamondes') together with five long and short towels, three cupboard cloths and eight dozen napkins. In plain cloth, he owned seven tablecloths, nine ewery towels and three coverpanes. Most of his long towels were double the length of their en suite tablecloths, a feature of English inventories at this period.<sup>12</sup>

The size of the holding of diaper napery was not simply a question of wealth, but also depended upon the type and size of the household, as well as personal choice, which may reflect attitudes to fashion and perceived social position. For example, the London tradesmen Robynson and Leman had houses that were well equipped both with napery and plate, and with inventory totals of household and trade goods, ready money and 'sperate' debts of £163 and £115 respectively.<sup>13</sup> In contrast, the Dursley clothier Robert Rychardes had more modest stocks of table linen, very little plate but a much larger inventory total of £700.<sup>14</sup>

10 1492 RYCHARDES, 'at london iij packes of Redes pc. le pack' £18.

1494 HORSELEY, debt owed by 'John Semar of london fyshmongar'.

11 1488 BRADWEY, plate totalled £65.9.11; the book was valued at 8s.

12 Few of the inventory sample give the dimensions of tablecloths and towels. None the less, where given, the long towels are invariably double: 1484 GYLBERT, 1486 SKYRWYTH, 1495 HANSON, 1495 LEMAN, 1497 BROMER, 1499 SCHULDAM.

13 1490 ROBYNSON, napery included 6 diaper and 4 plain tablecloths. He had £29 of plate.

1495 LEMAN, napery included 6 diaper and 5 plain tablecloths.

14 1492 RYCHARDES, napery included 2 diaper and 12 plain tablecloths. He had £10 of plate.

Although the napery of country gentry, yeomen and clothiers generally included tablecloths, towels and napkins, cupboard cloths and coverpanes were rarely found.<sup>15</sup> In contrast London gentry such as Robert Morton and John Holgrave, as well as several London merchants and tradesmen, had both cupboard cloths and coverpanes of diaper.<sup>16</sup> Obviously napery valuations depended not only upon quantity and quality, but also upon condition which explains some of the very low valuations. None the less, many of the sample have a proportion of diaper in excess of 65 per cent of the napery total (Table 7.1).

During the early years of the sixteenth century, the pattern of ownership of diaper was similar to the later decades of the previous century, but now the crown and the great nobles began to own damask napery in some quantity. Margaret Beaufort, the mother of Henry VII, had pieces with portcullises and roses in 1509 and Cardinal Wolsey's household inventories prepared in 1516 and updated until 1521, included a magnificent array of damask with 24 tablecloths as well as many long and short towels, cupboard cloths and napkins. The Duke of Buckingham on his attainder in 1521 owned similar quantities of damask napery, much of it scattered with his devices. The wealthier gentry bought more modest quantities of damask: Dame Agnes Hungerford, who was attainted for the murder of her husband in 1524, had two 'dyaper clothys of damaske worke for tables' and three towels, and in the same year Sir Thomas Lovell, formerly Treasurer of the royal household, owned three damask tablecloths and two long towels.

The extent and range of the napery within Henry VIII's household is indicated in the inventory of 1547.<sup>17</sup> This includes much of the King's household and personal goods as well as ordnance, ships and even horses, and will be the subject of a three-volume work to be published from 1998.<sup>18</sup> Although it does not include the stocks of napery in the Ewery Office which would have covered the principal tables within the household on a daily basis, the document details quantities of new linen in the Secret and the Great Wardrobes, and of old linen in the Old Jewel House. The latter seems to have been obtained largely by attainder from the Duke of Buckingham and the 'old' Duchess of Norfolk, and probably constituted an 'extraordinary store' for use on special occasions.<sup>19</sup> In addition, there are

<sup>15</sup> The principal exception was Hugh Schuldam from Watlington, Norfolk, whose napery included a cupboard cloth and two coverpanes. He was also exceptional in having two coverlets and bed hangings of 'lynen damaske worke', 1499 SCHULDAM. This is the earliest reference to linen damask work among the inventory sample. The Dutch drift to Hugh's name appears to be coincidental, as the next village to Watlington is Shouldam.

<sup>16</sup> Diaper coverpanes were found in the inventories of 1484 GYLBERT, 1494 SYMSON; diaper cupboard cloths in 1483 BELE, 1484 GYLBERT, 1486 SKYRWYTH, 1490 ROBYNSON, 1495 BARNARD. In addition, two London parsons had plain cupboard cloths: 1492 ATCE, 1492 VEYSY. Richard Scoule, burgess of Bishops Lynn, owned two plain cupboard cloths, 1490 SCOULE.

<sup>17</sup> 1547 HENRY VIII. Some of the napery in this document is also included in: 1542 HENRY VIII, 1546 NORFOLK & PRO E101/419/16, James Rufforth's Household Book, undated.

<sup>18</sup> Starkey (1998), to include a chapter 'Napery and Bedlinen' in vol. 2 by Mitchell (1999).

<sup>19</sup> In the seventeenth century the 'extraordinary store' was used to supply napery for ambassadors or visiting princes.

modest quantities of napery at the palaces of Richmond and Oatlands, a parcel purchased from Mary Tudor, Duchess of Suffolk, and another got by attainder from the Duke of Norfolk.

The Wardrobes held some 70 unused pieces of holland and gentish cloth, which would have been used for shirts, shifts and sheets as well as for plain table linen, together with some 100 pieces of damask and diaper napery. Typically, three matching loom pieces were purchased of tabling, towelling and napkining. The pieces listed in 'The Secrete Guarderobe' at Westminster were valued per ell, often to an eighth of a penny. This, coupled with evidence from the Great Wardrobe accounts suggests that these were purchase costs.<sup>20</sup> Using these figures, it seems that Henry VIII's napery, allowing for the missing Ewery parcels, would have cost in the order of £700 to £800.<sup>21</sup>

Allowing for inflation, this is some ten times the value of the largest inventories within the sample (Table 7.2). The extent of the holdings of napery is indicated in the Table by the number of tablecloths, and a reflection of the investment by separate valuations, where available, for damask, diaper and plain napery. The Table was prepared from the inventories that included damask table linen for the period starting in 1525, as it was only at about this date that damask was regularly described in English inventories in ways that clearly differentiated it from diaper (see Table 9.1).

The analysis confirms that apart from the crown, the major holders of damask napery were the great nobles and the London merchant elite. Unfortunately, most of the noble inventories are unvalued as they are either household or attainder inventories. None the less, the number of tablecloths owned by the Earls of Pembroke and Leicester, when compared with the numbers and valuation of the Earl of Bedford, suggests valuations for their napery well in excess of £100. Among the lesser nobles with significant holdings of damask were several prominent royal servants such as Lord Sandys, the Lord Chamberlain, and Thomas Seymour, the Lord Admiral.

<sup>20</sup> The Great Wardrobe Accounts carry forward cloths over several years at the same cost, E/101/416/5, 1506-8; E/101/417/4, 1510-12; E/101/421/3, 1531-33.

<sup>21</sup> The napery in 'the Secrete Guarderobe' consists of 1,253 sq.yds of damask and 1,018 sq.yds of diaper, valued at £230 and the unvalued parcel in 'the Greate Warderobe', 1,978 sq.yds of diaper and damask. Pro rata, this parcel would be valued at £200. The plain pieces are valued at some £240. If it is assumed that a third of this is used for napery, then a valuation of the royal household's napery would be in the order of:-

Secret Guarderobe parcel	230
Great Wardrobe parcel	200
Plain napery	80
Old Jewel House, Richmond, Oatlands, etc., say	100
Missing Ewery napery, say	<u>150</u>
	<u>£760</u>

TABLE 7.2 HOLDINGS OF DAMASKS, 1525-99

DATE	NAME	INV. TYPE <sup>a</sup>	TABLECLOTH NUMBERS			NAPERY VALUATIONS (£) <sup>b</sup>			
			Damask	Diaper	Plain	Damask	Diaper	Plain	Total
NOBILITY - Lords temporal and spiritual									
1534	Nicholas WEST	P	3	12	23	6.68	7.14	1.83	15.65
1540	Viscount LISLE	A	6	13	27	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
1541	Lord SANDYS	P	4	1	3	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
1546	Duke of NORFOLK	A	16	5	35	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
1549	Thomas SEYMOUR	A	4	8	16	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
1553	Thomas CRANMER	A	2	21	30	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
1553	Duke of NORTHUMB <sup>D</sup>	A	14	8	?	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
1554	Lord LA WARRE	P	5	4	11	6.92	2.57	1.32	10.81
1561	Earl of PEMBROKE	H	46	9	41	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
1568	Lord WHARTON	P	8	3	12	21.33	3.00	4.50	28.83
1572	Duke of NORFOLK	A	4	17	21	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
1575	Matthew PARKER	P	9	29	0	21.82	7.38	9.62	38.82
1583	Earl of LEICESTER	H	38	4	78	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
1585	Earl of BEDFORD	P	22	14	54	51.99	16.34	18.33	86.66
GENTRY									
1530	John KYRTON	P	2	4	2	4.85	1.55	0.73	7.13
1532	Sir Henry GUILDFORD	P	6	19	16	14.65	5.68	2.40	22.73
1542	Sir Richard WESTON	P	7	7	29	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
1549	Sir Chris. MORE	P	0	6	23	0.70	12.69	6.67	20.06
1553	Sir Peter CAREW	A	2	4	24	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
1556	Sir John GAGE	P	7	9	32	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
1557	Thomas TRENCHARD	P	1	12	40	1.58	5.43	7.82	14.83
1558	Edward SHURLEY, Esq.	P	2	2	18	6.72	4.72	11.20	22.64
1559	Richard CROMLOVES	P	4	0	6	5.00	0.50	2.78	8.28
1562	Dame Cicely DELVES	P	0	14	34	1.57	20.41	10.14	32.12
1566	Sir Richard WORSLEY	P	0	14	35	0.93	3.02	7.90	11.85
1571	Sir Thomas PACKINGTON	P	2	2	28	5.00	2.33	10.25	17.58
1578	Sir Edmund ASSHEFELD	P	3	5	35	9.67	13.23	21.47	44.37
1579	Sir Thomas BUTLER	P	1	1	4	0.97	0.03	1.73	2.73
1580	Richard LYON, Esq.	P	3	0	20	0.80	0	10.00	10.80
1582	William LEE	P	1	1	12	N/A	N/A	N/A	19.80
1583	William DALLISON, Esq	P	3	0	6	5.15	0	5.73	10.88
1588	Sir Richard WODEHOUSE	P	1	3	15	N/A	N/A	N/A	11.67
1590	Henry BRICKWELL	P	2	6	4	3.50	4.15	1.90	9.55
1592	Sir John PERROT	P	3	18	16	2.02	6.59	5.19	13.80
1594	Sir William FAIRFAX	P	6	4	45	37.68	10.53	39.28	77.49
1596	Thomas TANCKARD, Esq.	P	2	0	17	5.00	1.80	4.25	11.05
PROFESSIONALS Lawyers, priests, etc.									
1527	Thomas CROMWELL	H	1	5	3	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
1552	Anthony BELLASIS	P	2	10	19	1.00	5.17	2.32	8.49
1558	Robert HYNDMER	P	0	7	12	0.87	2.80	3.15	6.82
1562	Joan WYCLIFFE,	P	0	2	13	0.45	1.66	1.88	3.99
1577	William LOVELACE	P	6	14	33	10.71	13.00	12.44	36.15
1581	Dr Thomas WILSON	P	5	6	36	4.16	2.07	9.70	15.93
MERCHANTS AND TRADESMEN									
1533	Robert AMADAS	P	13	13	39	8.55	6.00	4.85	19.40
1533	Alexander PLYMLEY	P	4	19	4	7.96	7.48	2.52	17.96
1536	Robert STODLEY	P	2	9	3	2.40	3.23	2.09	7.72
1552	William STOCKLEY	P	2	9	3	5.13	3.68	2.98	7.72
1552	Stephen KIRTON	P	5	5	29	7.23	3.77	5.88	16.88
1554	Austen HYNDE	P	10	12	33	53.00	8.54	16.57	78.11
1554	Sir Ralph WARREN	P	21	11	55	28.14	4.63	11.95	44.72
1558	Gregory ISHAM	P	2	4	18	2.63	2.65	7.39	12.67
1558	Simon PONDER	P	1	2	9	0.88	1.08	1.32	3.28
1559	Elianor MAYNARDE	P	4	4	6	15.42	7.57	4.33	27.32
1562	? DURKINGTON	P	2	2	22	4.17	1.33	8.52	14.02
1570	Bertram ANDERSON	P	2	9	11	3.83	6.83	12.37	23.03



DATE	NAME		INV. TYPE <sup>a</sup>	TABLECLOTH NUMBERS			NAPERY VALUATIONS (£) <sup>b</sup>			
				Damask	Diaper	Plain	Damask	Diaper	Plain	Total
MERCHANTS AND TRADESMEN (Cont.)										
1573	George	SANDERS	P	3	7	9	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
1573	William	MACE	P	1	4	3	1.42	2.67	3.67	7.76
1574	Henry	MILLES	P	14	11	47	25.09	14.23	30.59	69.91
1578	James	THURLAND	P	2	1	29	1.75	0.40	18.12	20.27
1580	Robert	TANNER	P	1	6	22	4.83	10.37	12.36	27.56
1582	Sir Thomas	OFFLEY	P	13	15	34	31.58	14.38	13.97	59.93
1583	Marion	CHAPMAN	P	0	2	9	0.70	3.03	4.27	8.00
1587	William	JENISON	P	1	5	21	7.25	10.08	10.53	27.86
1588	William	GLASEOR	P	5	2	4	8.83	1.77	5.48	16.98
1589	Robert	SUCKLING	P	21	11	19	3.00	11.03	9.31	23.34
1590	Sir Thomas	RAMSEY	P	16	18	31	76.31	50.81	16.18	143.12
1593	Alice	SMYTHE	P	13	38	99	72.97	21.30	44.16	138.43

*Notes*

a P, Probate; A, Attainder; H, Household

b There was considerable price inflation between 1525 and 1600; refer to Chapters 7.3 & 8.2.

Among the gentry, other royal servants who regularly attended court and travelled abroad, particularly to the Low Countries and France, were prominent purchasers of fashionable damask table linen including Sir Henry Guildford, Sir Richard Weston and Sir John Gage.<sup>22</sup> Guildford, Comptroller of the Royal Household, was also Constable of Leeds Castle which he transformed for the King from a fort into a palace. He kept considerable state at Leeds and also had a finely appointed house in London.

The sample also illustrates the comparative decline in wealth of post-Reformation clerics, with the napery holdings of Archbishops Cranmer and Parker being noticeably smaller than those of Cardinal Wolsey. Philippa Glanville drew attention to this decline in discussing the new consumers of plate in Tudor England.<sup>23</sup> Apart from Wolsey who was admittedly exceptional, Bishop West had left plate in 1534 valued at nearly £1,300 whereas Archbishop Parker's plate was worth less than £400.

The richer gentlemen living on their country estates owned modest quantities of damask with the exceptions, late in the century, of Sir Edmund Asshefeld and Sir William Fairfax. They were both wealthy: Asshefeld, for example, had two well furnished houses and extensive lands in Buckinghamshire with horses, cattle and corn valued at £2,400. Several 'professionals' had very similar holdings to the gentry, which is not surprising as Bellasis and Wilson were royal servants, and Lovelace a wealthy judge.

In comparison with many of the gentry, the leading London merchants and tradesmen bought considerable quantities of fine table linen as well as plate, tapestries and other

22 Both Guildford and Weston were at the Field of the Cloth of Gold with the King. Previously Weston had spent five months on an embassy to François I. Weston (the Under-Treasurer of England) had a fine house, Sutton Place in Surrey, and Gage (Comptroller of the Household), Firle Place in Sussex.

23 Glanville (1990), 48.

luxury goods. Indeed the damask holdings of Hynde, Warren, Miller, Offley, Ramsey and Smythe were as large as all but the greatest nobles. Sir Thomas Ramsey was nicknamed 'Ramsey the rich'; an apt soubriquet for them all. Warren, Offley and Ramsey all served as Lord Mayor and Hynde was elected to the office but died prematurely.<sup>24</sup> Their principal residences were in London but they generally had a country house an easy journey by horse or barge from the City. Hynde had a house in Kew, Warren at Bethnal Green and at Fulham, and Offley at Hackney. The last of the group, Alice Smythe, was the widow of Thomas Smythe, Esq., the Customer of London, a leading official in the Port of London.

A further London citizen with considerable quantities of damask was the royal goldsmith Robert Amadas. On his death in 1533, he was extremely wealthy, although the valuation of his table linen was considerably less than Hynde's or Warren's owing to its condition, with much of it described as 'olde' or 'sore worn'.<sup>25</sup> Before 1570, the merchants and tradesmen owning damask in the sample were all Londoners. Thereafter, they were joined by a few provincial merchants from Newcastle, Salisbury, Chester and Norwich suggesting a geographical spread in damask ownership during Elizabeth's reign.

These general observations are reflected graphically in Table 7.3 which shows the mean proportions by value of damask, diaper and plain linen in the inventories of the various status groups, over the seventy-five years between 1525 and 1600. As expected, the nobility had the highest proportion of damask among their napery, but it is striking that the damask holdings of London merchants were considerable higher, by proportion, than the gentry and professional groups.<sup>26</sup>

TABLE 7.3 PROPORTION OF NAPERY VALUATIONS BY FABRIC TYPE AND STATUS CATEGORY, 1525-99  
(Mean values for those listed in Table 7.2)

STATUS	DAMASK %	DIAPER %	PLAIN %	TOTAL %
Nobility	60	20	20	100
Gentry	28	28	44	100
Professionals	24	35	41	100
Merchants, etc	46	24	30	100

24 Machyn (1846)\*, 67.

1554 HYNDE, linen, household goods, plate, jewels and apparel valued at £1,663; 1554 WARREN, at £2,716; 1574 MILLES, at £855; 1582 OFFLEY, at £1,456; 1590 RAMSEY, at £1,768; 1593 SMYTHE, at £857.

25 1533 AMADAS. His career and work is discussed in Glanville (1990).

26 The percentages in Table 7.3 are mean values. Several gentlemen and merchants such as Guildford, Hynde and Warren had more than 60 per cent of their napery 'investment' in damask.

The spread of ownership over the same period is indicated by analysing the number of inventories that contain damask within a particular status group, for three 25-year periods (Table 7.4). The results are inevitably crude as the number of inventories in each group is small, particularly in the case of the nobility. Thus, only 86 per cent of noble inventories contained damask napery in the period 1550-74 as it was absent from that of Robert, Lord Ogle of Bothal Castle, Northumberland. The Ogles seem exceptional for from the first half of the sixteenth century most noblemen owned quantities of damask napery.<sup>27</sup> In contrast, the proportion of both gentlemen and merchants that owned damask rose very significantly between the second and fourth quarters of the century.

TABLE 7.4 PROPORTIONS OF INVENTORIES THAT INCLUDE DAMASK BY STATUS CATEGORY, 1525-99  
(For those listed in Table 7.2)

PERIOD	NOBILITY		GENTRY AND PROFESSIONALS		MERCHANTS, ETC	
	No. of inv.	%	No. of inv.	%	No. of inv.	Proportion %
1525-49	5	100	20	25	20	15
1550-74	7	86	42	26 <sup>a</sup>	24	54
1575-99	3	100	18	67	13	69

*Note*

- a This proportion is not directly comparable to the previous and later periods as the sample contains a noticeably higher proportion of modest country gentlemen.

Apart from individual owners, fine napery was owned by the richer London livery companies who bought sets of damask for the Master's table from the mid-sixteenth century. The Wardens of the Vintners' Company list damask napery in their accounts for the first time in 1546-48 and the Weavers' Company in an inventory of 1578.<sup>28</sup> A list of the Pewterers' linen of 1556 was interlined, 'j damaske table clothe', and by 1567 the hall was equipped with two damask tablecloths, two long towels and four dozen napkins.<sup>29</sup> The Goldsmiths' and the Fishmongers' were also equipped with fine damask, for among the 'old linen' in the Goldsmiths' Company inventory of 1605 was 'one damask tablecloth having the Fishmongers' Arms, together with 14 damask napkins similarly ornamented'.<sup>30</sup> The two companies met by ancient custom each year for 'the Amity Dinner'. Presumably it

27 The Ogles were comparatively poor and took little part in national affairs. During the reign of Henry VIII, none attended the House of Lords. When Robert's father succeeded to the barony in the early 1530s, 'the Chancery clerks found it hard to remember to send him a writ. When he did receive one, in 1539, he ignored it', Miller (1986), 126.

28 Guildhall 15333/1, Vintners' Company, Wardens' Accounts 1522-82, 'Accompte 1546-8', 261, included a long tablecloth and a long double towel of damask for the high table. The napkins were of fine diaper.  
Guildhall 4646, Weavers' Company B2, Old Ledger Book, 1578 Inventory included a damask tablecloth for the Master's table in the Hall and two dozen napkins.

29 Guildhall 7110, Pewterers' Company, Book of Inventories and Records 1490-1756, 26 & 46v.

30 Goldsmiths' Company Court Book O, Part III, 426.

was in this connection that the Goldsmiths' Company was given this set of damask, part of a parcel commissioned by the Fishmongers and woven for them in the Low Countries.

The lesser companies sometimes had an odd piece of damask but generally furnished their tables with diaper and plain cloth. For example, the Founders' Company was given 'a fyne tuell [towel] of damask work' by Mistress Morres in 1548, but there was no damask napery recorded in any of the inventories of the Tallowchandlers' between 1549 and 1576, of the Cutlers' between 1586 and 1593, of the Brown Bakers' between 1574 and 1600, or in the Wardens' accounts of the Carpenters' Company throughout the sixteenth century.<sup>31</sup>

The tables of the heads of Oxford and Cambridge colleges were similarly equipped for although diaper table linen was bought in considerable quantities, very little damask was purchased.<sup>32</sup> This emphasises the narrow band of ownership, particularly in the light of Baron Waldstein's comment on his visit to Cambridge in 1600 that,

The Masters of these Colleges get the most magnificent treatment; they live in tremendous state and when they entertain it is with a whole troop of servants.<sup>33</sup>

The exclusive ownership of damask napery by the crown and a small number of wealthy individuals and institutions is confirmed by the Assize records: for example, of 3,066 indictments in Kent between 1559 and 1602, seventy-three included thefts of napery; just six of these contained diaper cloths but none of them any damask.<sup>34</sup>

Within the elite groups, however, the quantities of damask but also diaper and plain cloth rose significantly between 1525 and 1600. An analysis of the numbers of tablecloths in the inventory sample shows the mean totals for the three 25-year periods increasing from 16 through 24 to 34 tablecloths per inventory (Table 7.5).

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<sup>31</sup> Parsloe (1964)\*, 415.

Guildhall 6152/1, Tallowchandlers' Company, Accounts and Inventories.

Welch (1923), vol. 2, 330-331.

Guildhall 5203, Brown Bakers' Company, Audit Book and Inventories 1570 to 1613.

Marsh (1914 & 1916)\*.

<sup>32</sup> Thorold Rogers (1866), vols 3 & 6.

<sup>33</sup> Groos (1981)\*, 91.

<sup>34</sup> Cockburn (1979)\*.

**TABLE 7.5 GROWTH IN QUANTITIES OF NAPERY, 1525-1600**  
(For those listed in Table 7.2)

PERIOD AND FABRIC TYPE	NO. OF INVENTORIES	NUMBER OF TABLECLOTHS					MEAN NO. PER INVENTORY
		Nobility	Gentry and Professional	Merchants and Tradesmen	Yeomen	All	
<b>1525-49</b> Damask Diaper Plain	48	33	16	19	0	68	1.4
		39	97	89	13	238	5.0
		104	169	153	34	460	9.6
							16.0
<b>1550-75</b> Damask Diaper Plain	76	79	19	68	0	166	2.2
		63	175	119	12	369	4.9
		124	726	378	24	1252	16.5
							23.6
<b>1575-99</b> Damask Diaper Plain	34	69	37	52	0	158	4.6
		47	90	98	1	236	6.9
		132	336	279	9	756	22.2
							33.7

This increase in numbers is reflected in the average napery valuations for merchants and tradesmen - the category with the most comparable samples - which rose on average during the same period from some £5 through £8 to £18 per inventory. Clearly price inflation played a part in these changes but for table linen it would have accounted for about a half of the increases (refer Chapter 8.2).

Within the sample many of the diaper and plain cloths were owned by the gentry who had larger houses and more numerous households than merchants and tradesmen. Even very wealthy gentlemen like Asshefeld and Fairfax with extensive damask holdings had considerable quantities of diaper and plain napery (Table 7.2). Asshefeld had thirteen chambers for servingmen in his principal residence which was reflected in his napery and bedlinen which totalled £100.<sup>35</sup> Other gentlemen with extensive estates had napery valued at more than £20 that consisted entirely of diaper and plain linen. For example, Sir Richard Catesby in 1553, at the Manor House, Ashby St Ledgers, Northamptonshire and at two other houses in Warwickshire had large quantities of table linen including 9 diaper and 73 plain tablecloths.<sup>36</sup>

<sup>35</sup> 1578 ASSHEFELD.

<sup>36</sup> 1553 CATESBY, Napery valued at £26.74.

1569 STRICKLAND, Walter Strickland, Esq at Sizergh Hall, Westmorland and a second house at Hanabe had similar quantities of diaper and plain linen valued at £21.19.

Most diaper appears to have been imported, although in northern inventories the material described as 'tweld', 'twealed' or 'twilt' may well have been woven locally.<sup>37</sup> The plain cloths used on the principal tables in noble houses were also made of imported material. The Earl of Pembroke at Wilton had 12 'table clothes of canvas for my Lordes bourd' (probably fine Normandy canvas), 13 'of Lokram w<sup>t</sup> seames for y<sup>r</sup> gentilwomen', 8 'haule clothes', and 8 'square clothes of canvas for the stewards bourde'. There were also napkins of fine and coarser canvas together with cupboard cloths of canvas and holland.<sup>38</sup> Later in the century, the Earl of Leicester also had many plain tablecloths of different qualities for the several tables in the household, including 'broade fine canvas', 'hollande', and 'course' tablecloths.<sup>39</sup>

The wealthy gentry used similar cloths. Sir Henry Guildford had plain table linen of 'gentisshe holande', 'bruselles', 'canvas' and 'lokeram' and at Firle, Sir John Gage had 4 'fyne' and 13 narrow 'playne' tablecloths for the parlour, 6 canvas tablecloths for the waiters and 9 very coarse canvas tablecloths for the labourers.<sup>40</sup> More modest gentlemen had diaper and imported plain cloth for their own tables and locally produced cloth of both flax and hemp for their servants. Thomas Walcot gent. of Walcot, Lincolnshire had 2 diaper and 3 flaxen cloths for his own table together with 7 'femle' [female hemp] and 4 harden for his servants.<sup>41</sup> Some of these plain cloths would have been produced within the household: for example, the inventory of Mr Bluet of Harlaxton included 1 diaper, 4 flaxen and 6 harden tablecloths as well as 'hardyn and flaxe to spyn' and 'unbleached hardyn and lynynge'.<sup>42</sup>

## 7.2 PATTERNS OF OWNERSHIP, 1600 TO 1750

The pattern of ownership of table linen during the first half of the seventeenth century appears to be similar to that of the previous fifty years, although the inventory sample is too small to allow for comparative analysis. None the less, it exhibits the same features, with the major holdings of damask napery found among the nobility, the London merchant elite and a few wealthy gentlemen.

37 Two Newcastle inventories contain both diaper and 'twealed' napery, 1570 ANDERSON, 1571 WILKINSON.

38 1561 PEMBROKE.

39 1583 LEICESTER.

40 1532 GUILDFORD, 1556 GAGE.

41 1558 WALCOT. Harden is a coarse fabric woven from the shorter fibres produced by heckling flax or hemp. These were variously called 'hards', 'hurds' or 'tow'.

42 1539 BLUET. It is likely that the thread was spun in the house, the web delivered to a local weaver and then returned for bleaching and finishing. 1583 CHAPMAN had 'one harden webe at the wevers'.

Several noble inventories had very large holdings of table linen, particularly those of the Countess of Shrewsbury (1601), the Countess of Leicester (1635) and Viscountess Dorchester (1639). Lady Shrewsbury, familiarly known as Bess of Hardwick, had some 30 loom pieces and unused lengths of damask and diaper tabling, towelling and napkin-ing.<sup>43</sup> Lettice, Countess of Leicester had fewer unused loom pieces but her damask napery, which included 46 tablecloths, was valued at £140.<sup>44</sup> Anne, the widow of Dudley Carleton, Viscount Dorchester had napery valued at £295 which included 21 damask and no less than 111 diaper tablecloths.<sup>45</sup> This surprisingly large and expensive holding included four sets of damask 'with my Lord of Dorchesters armes on them'. These were presumably woven in Haarlem either commissioned by Carleton himself or presented to him, for he served with distinction as English envoy to The Hague between 1616 and 1627. To encourage the nascent luxury trade in Haarlem, the States General gave sets of linen damask napery to visiting dignitaries, including in 1609 the ambassadors of France, England and Morocco.<sup>46</sup> Apart from these extensive holdings, those of other noblemen such as the Earl of Essex and Lord Fairfax were more modest, valued at £56 and £70 respectively.<sup>47</sup>

Among the gentry, there were a number of knights and esquires with 2 or 3 damask and 6 to 12 diaper tablecloths listed in their inventories: Sir George More of Loseley, Surrey was typical, with napery valued at £24 which included 2 damask, 11 diaper and 34 plain tablecloths.<sup>48</sup> The sample also included one 'yoman', William Edmonds of Hardley, Dorset, with a damask tablecloth and a dozen napkins included in his inventory of 1628. He was a man of some substance with linen, household goods and plate valued at £114.<sup>49</sup>

As in the sixteenth century, certain merchants had considerable holdings of fine table linen. The 1640 inventory of Anthony Abdy, alderman of London, listed at his house in Lime Street and at his 'Mansion House at Laytonstone, Essex', napery valued at £88 which included 16 damask, 31 diaper and 32 plain tablecloths. Although most of this linen was of Low Countries manufacture, it also included 11 dozen and 4 napkins of 'Silecia

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43 1601 HARDWICK. Half the napery was of damask and almost half of diaper, with very little plain cloth. Although no details of the patterns were given in the inventory, the Hardwick accounts list several purchases of damask 'of the storye of Abraham', Chatsworth, Hardwick Ms 1, 1551-2, 4v; Ms 7, 1592, 18v. (The author is grateful to Santina Levey for providing extracts from these documents.)

44 1635 LEICESTER.

45 1639 DORCHESTER, damask £143.85, diaper £144.05, plain £7.33 - total £295.23.

46 Burgers (1965), 153.

47 1642 ESSEX. Tablecloths: 21 damask, 7 diaper and 8 plain. Damask £41.24, diaper £13.50, plain £1.30 - total £55.59.

1647 FAIRFAX. Tablecloths: 3 damask, 13 diaper and 37 plain. Damask £23.75, diaper £32.67, plain £14.00 - total £70.42.

48 1633 MORE. Damask £5.37, diaper £9.46, plain £8.74 - total £23.57.

49 1628 EDMONDS. Tablecloths: 1 damask, 2 diaper and 10 plain. Damask £1.50, diaper £2.00, plain £6.00 - total £9.50.



Diaper'.<sup>50</sup> The inclusion of such figured linens from new sources of supply was to become a feature of inventories from the second half of the seventeenth century. This reflected the scale of the supply, for whereas before the Civil War imports of Sletia diaper were of a similar order to those of diaper woven in the Low Countries, from the Restoration, Sletia diaper imports were up to ten times greater (see Figs 4.1 & 4.8). Some merchants' personal table linen reflected the geography of their trade: for example, the Levant merchant John Williams had napery valued at £45 which was devoid of damask but had quantities of French diaper, Turkish towels, and Messina and calico napkins.<sup>51</sup> A few provincial merchants such as John Whitson of Bristol, also owned fine napery.<sup>52</sup>

Between 1650 and 1750 the nobility continued to have large holdings of napery and wealthy gentlemen and merchants, extensive but more modest holdings. By this period, damask table linen had lost its early novelty and although the finest quality from the Low Countries was still costly, it had declined in real value. Further, Sletia damask began to be imported in some quantity after the Restoration, followed by Irish damask in the early eighteenth century. This coincided with the 'rise of the upholsterer', described in elegant detail by Peter Thornton, when large sums were spent on expensive furniture.<sup>53</sup> At the same time paintings, which in the sixteenth century were of little monetary value, became more highly prized and costly. Textiles in general, whether tapestry, embroidery or linen damask, no longer featured so prominently in inventories or in their owners' consciousness. This is suggested by napery being rarely listed piece by piece with individual dimensions and valuations, as had been normal during the sixteenth century. From about 1650, although the number of damask, diaper and plain tablecloths and napkins continued to be given, their valuation was often a lump sum. In the eighteenth century, there was further simplification which often resulted in an entry of the type, 'all my linen £35'.<sup>54</sup>

These developments mean that it is impossible to analyse the holdings of different social groups by the value of their damask, diaper and plain linen as was done for the previous periods 1475-99 (Table 7.1) and 1525-99 (Table 7.2). However, it is possible to track changes among London merchants and tradesmen, using the Orphans Court inventories which continued to list linen in some detail well into the eighteenth century. Although few breakdowns in value can be calculated, comparative analyses can be made using the number of tablecloths of each fabric type: damask, diaper, huckaback and plain. The sample is not truly representative as it contains a preponderance of citizens from the twelve

<sup>50</sup> 1640 ABDY. Damask £39.11, diaper £36.75, plain £12.28 - total £88.14.

<sup>51</sup> 1637 WILLIAMS. He was wealthy; ignoring his desperate debts, the balance of his inventory was £34,148.

<sup>52</sup> 1629 WHITSON. Tablecloths: 11 damask, 14 diaper and 21 plain. Damask £31.57, diaper £12.54, plain £9.11 - total £53.22.

<sup>53</sup> Thornton (1978).

<sup>54</sup> This sometimes occurred earlier: 1658 GOODWYN, 'Lynnen of all sortes', £20; 1675 WENTWORTH, 'Several Chests of Linnens', £120.

great companies. Nevertheless, the sampling technique was the same for each of the four 25-year periods and the results are therefore comparable. A summary giving the mean proportions of tablecloths by fabric type, prepared from some 40 inventories for each period is given below in Table 7.6.

TABLE 7.6 PROPORTION OF TABLECLOTHS CLASSIFIED BY FABRIC TYPE OWNED BY LONDON MERCHANTS AND TRADESMEN, 1650-1750

PERIOD	NO. OF INVENTORIES	MEAN NO. OF TABLE-CLOTHS PER INVENTORY	PROPORTION OF TABLECLOTHS(%)				
			DAMASK	DIAPER	HUCK-ABACK	PLAIN	TOTAL
1650-74	41	16	10	33	0	57	100
1675-99	43	18	13	47	0	40	100
1700-24	46	17	17	46	16	21	100
1725-49	38	20	20	46	13	21	100

The analysis highlights distinct changes in the type of cloth covering the tables of the middling sort in London, set against a backcloth of constant holdings of napery: the variation, between 16 and 20 (column 3), in the mean number of tablecloths per inventory, lying within the sampling error. Firstly, the proportion of damask doubled over the hundred years. Presumably much of this increase was owing to the ready availability of cheap Sletia damask from about 1680. Unfortunately, this cannot be confirmed as none of the sample inventories differentiates between Holland and Sletia damask, but merely between fine and coarse. Secondly, the proportion of diaper increased significantly between the third and fourth quarters of the seventeenth century. As with damask, this probably resulted from increased imports of German diaper with in addition new supplies of French diaper. To some extent these developments were reflected in inventory descriptions: for example, both John Goodyear and John Wheake had several sets of both Holland and Sletia diaper, whilst Roger Pococke owned napery of 'hamburg' as well as French and Sletia diaper; Sir Francis Chaplyn, in addition to 23 damask table-cloths of unspecified origin, had 4 Holland and 25 French and Sletia diaper tablecloths.<sup>55</sup> Thirdly, from 1700 huckaback, which on occasion was described as English diaper, was found in about one in three of the sample inventories.<sup>56</sup> These increases in the proportions of

55 1659 GOODYEAR. 5 tablecloths, 5 cupboard cloths and 7 dozen napkins - all of Holland diaper; 2 tablecloths, a cupboard cloth and 2 dozen napkins - of 'Slecy' diaper.  
1675 POCOCKE. 4 sets of 'hamburg' diaper, 2 sets of French diaper and 2 sets of Sletia diaper. 'Hamburg' diaper may have been woven in Slesvig-Holstein where it is thought damask was made from about 1620, possibly in Friedrichstadt. In a letter from Hamburg of 9 June 1676 to Jacob David in London, Bartholomew Möll wrote, 'I have been much accustomed to send Slesvig serviettes and table linen to [England] but as a result of this latest war they have not been selling', Roseveare (1987)\*, 416.  
1680 CHAPLYN, Lord Mayor in 1677/8.

56 Huckaback was described in a government report as 'English diaper'. However, it has a tabby ground with the figure formed by warp and weft floats, unlike most diapers which have twill weaves.

damask, diaper and huckaback tablecloths resulted in a decline in the proportion of plain tablecloths from some 60 to 20 per cent over the period.<sup>57</sup>

In examining the other status groups to see if these changes were widespread, it is plain that the perceptions and knowledge of cloth types and qualities varied greatly. The clerks that prepared Londoners' inventories sometimes differentiated between linens, notably Holland, Sletia and French diaper, doubtless helped in this by the City's linen drapers who itemised their bills in some detail. Similarly, the nobility and wealthy gentry who purchased fine napery in London used the bill descriptions in preparing the working inventories that were often kept in such households and that ultimately were used in the preparation of their probate inventories. In contrast, many country gentlemen and provincial tradesmen do not appear to have differentiated between the types and qualities of damask and diaper napery. This was certainly the case for the Norwich linen draper, Violet Benton in 1671 and the Coventry mercer, Julius Billers five years later.<sup>58</sup>

This lack of differentiation makes it difficult to track whether the changes observed among London merchants and tradesmen also took place among the country gentry and provincial tradesmen. None the less, there are indications that the nobility and wealthy gentry purchased diaper woven in Germany, France and Ireland together with English huckaback. For example, the inventories of both the Earl of Ossery (1681) and Viscount Montague (1682), had quantities of French and Sletia diaper in addition to Holland diaper. Similarly, in 1690 Lady Ossulton listed in the 'Black trunks at Dawly', tablecloths of flowered and figured damask and 'Holland', 'Sleasia' and 'French' diaper together with 'Huckaback diaper napkins'. A later inventory of 1713 included much huckaback and Irish diaper tablecloths. In view of the substitution of plain tablecloths by diaper and huckaback noted among London tradesmen, it is significant that Lady Ossulton's 1690 list did not include any plain tablecloths and that of 1713, just seven plain 'servants table cloths'.<sup>59</sup>

Amongst the wealthier gentry Montague Drake, Esq (1699) owned huckaback towels and Holland diaper and Irish damask napkins, and Sir Barrington Bouchier (1695) had 'Huggaback' tablecloths and napkins. Earlier in the century, huckaback was listed in the inventories of William Richardson, Esq of North Bierley, Yorkshire in 1667, and Robert Marples of Barlborough, Derbyshire in 1676. At that time, Sarah Fell of Swarthmoore Hall, Ulveston, was regularly sending webs and weft thread spun on the estate, to William

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57 The first huckaback tablecloths in 1700 CHURCH, but napkins were found earlier, in 1681 RAWLINSON, 1697 WILLIAMS, 1699 WALDO.

58 1671 BENTON, goods included 3 dozen diaper napkining at 10s/doz, 4 suits of damask at 40s [each]. 1676 BILLERS, goods included 1 doz Diaper Napkins, 9s. From the valuations all this cloth must have been of Sletia.

59 PRO C104/82, Brown Leather Notebook. Loose sheet, 'Household stuff at Dawly' which includes 'Linen taken 26 Sept 1713'.

Hobson at Cartmel for weaving ‘huggabackes’.<sup>60</sup> It is perhaps no coincidence that these early references are found in the north. *The Plain Dealing Linnen-Draper* of 1696 states ‘Huckaback-Diaper . . . is for the most part made in *Lancashire*’.<sup>61</sup>

The royal household on the other hand, did not purchase Sletia damask or diaper for the Ewery office and apart from one purchase of French diaper, continued to get all its supplies from the Low Countries until 1737 when a political decision was made to buy Irish damask and diaper. Although huckaback was bought for napkins for the Yeomen of the Guard, this did not occur until 1730, some thirty years after it is commonly found in the inventories of the nobility.<sup>62</sup>

### 7.3 VALUE OF HOUSEHOLD GOODS

#### a) *The sample and its analysis*

To compare the value of napery and bedlinens with that of furniture and furnishings, and plate and jewellery, the inventory sample was analysed in twenty-five-year periods. The inventories within each period were divided into four quartiles (ranked by the value of household goods) to see if the patterns of ownership differed with wealth.

The results of the analysis must be treated with considerable circumspection and cannot be directly compared with those of other authors, as the inventory sample was collected with the express purpose of examining the ownership, value and care of damask and diaper napery. This means that the sample does not represent a cross-section of population by either wealth or geography, as it concentrates on the prosperous and relies heavily upon inventories from the Prerogative Court of Canterbury between 1475 and 1600 but from the Orphans Court in London between 1650 and 1750.

Not all the sample inventories listed in Appendix A were used, but only those where it was possible to calculate separate totals for household linen, furniture and furnishings, and plate and jewellery. Wherever possible a napery total was also calculated. These subtotals were subsequently referred to as napery (a), linen (b), furniture (c), and plate (d). The linen subtotal was generally comprised of napery and bedlinen, but occasionally included childbed linen and window curtains.

The proportions of napery and linen were initially calculated relative to the total of linen and furniture (Total A = b+c). Further proportions of napery, linen, furniture and plate were

<sup>60</sup> Penny (1920)\*, 113, 239 & 467; typically, ‘1677 Feb ye 21, by m<sup>o</sup> [money] p<sup>d</sup> Willm Hobson of Cartmel, for Working 37 yds of huggabacke at 2d<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> per yd’.

<sup>61</sup> J.F. (1696)\*, 24.

<sup>62</sup> PRO LS1/75, ‘Gardorobia, Johann Daye et Henry Warcopp, March 1730, 21 doz Huckaback Naps 13<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> yds/doz at 2s 6d per yd’ [diaper napkins cost 3s per yd].

calculated relative to total household goods (Total B = b+c+d). As food, apparel, ready money, arms and armour, and coaches occurred spasmodically, they were omitted from both Totals A and B. Other items of moveable wealth were also omitted including agricultural and trade goods and equipment, debits, credits, annuities, shares and leases. Some 600 inventories were analysed in this way in twenty-five-year periods, apart from between 1600 and 1649, when it was necessary to combine two periods owing to a paucity of suitable inventories. The mean totals of household goods (Total B) when adjusted for inflation, using an index calculated from the tables of Phelps Brown and Hopkins show that for most of the period between 1475 and 1750 the valuations were of similar scale, even though the constitution of the inventory sample changed (Table 7.7).<sup>63</sup>

TABLE 7.7 MEAN VALUES OF HOUSEHOLD GOODS (TOTAL B) ADJUSTED FOR INFLATION, 1475-1750

PERIOD	NUMBER OF INVENTORIES	HOUSEHOLD GOODS MEAN OF TOTAL B (£)	INFLATION INDEX	ADJUSTED MEAN OF TOTAL B (£)
1475-99	48	51	1.0	51
1500-24	31	67	1.1	61
1525-49	62	109	1.6	68
1550-74	88	181	2.7	67
1575-99	46	232	3.8	61
1600-24) 1625-49)	53	238	5.3	45
1650-74	92	230	6.0	38
1675-99	62	305	5.9	53
1700-24	63	314	5.9	53
1725-49	69	286	5.6	51

Some of the variations in the adjusted totals can be simply explained, for the samples for the periods 1475-99 and 1600-49 had noticeably fewer wealthy individuals than the four sixteenth century periods. The later period was also affected by the outbreak of the Civil War in 1642, which produced the lowest adjusted total in 1650-74. The three periods between 1675 and 1750 which have similar totals to each other, but rather lower than those for the sixteenth century, represent a different constituency, for the inventories were almost entirely those of London merchants and tradesmen.

63 Phelps Brown & Hopkins (1971).

### *b) Linen ownership*

An overview of the proportional valuations of napery and linen relative to total household goods is given in Fig. 7.1. This indicates that the value of linen (napery and bedlinen) relative to that of all household goods, including plate and jewellery, increased from 1475 to a peak in the early seventeenth century and then fell steeply for the next century. Napery values seem fairly constant until after 1550 when they followed the linen trend, although it was not possible to track the values after 1675 owing to lack of data. However, the changing proportions of valuations do not in themselves signify changing quantities of goods, for both the substitution of cheaper materials and the differing rates of price inflation between various classes of goods can have a very significant effect. This is demonstrated by charting the proportional valuations of napery and linen relative to linen, furniture and furnishings (Total A), thus removing the influence of plate and jewellery (Fig. 7.2). This has none of the elegance of its predecessor with a stuttering rise in the proportion of linen, although the decline after 1650 is similar.

The rise in the linen proportion between the periods 1525-49 and 1575-99 of some 3 per cent on Fig. 7.2 was wholly the result of an increase in the napery proportion. This resulted from the increased ownership of damask and diaper which was much more expensive than the plain cloth it supplanted. The decline in both linen and napery proportions from the middle of the seventeenth century reflects, not only the fall in the real prices of linens, but also the substitution of some plain and figured linens from Holland and Flanders by cheaper alternatives from Germany and France. To understand these changes more profoundly, each period sample was divided into four quartiles ranked according to the respective values of household goods. Inevitably this means that the results are not very reliable as there are sometimes only seven or eight inventories providing data in each quartile. Despite this, the similarities between each period are clear (Fig 7.3). The proportional value of linen tended to decline with wealth, but at the same time, that of napery increased. The latter was to be expected as it was the wealthy who increasingly purchased damask and diaper table linen as the sixteenth century progressed. This trend was confirmed by comparing the ratio of napery to linen in each quartile: for the period 1525-49, this rose from 30 to 47 per cent from the first to the fourth quartile, whereas later in the century the comparative figures for the period 1575-99 were 30 to 65 per cent.

### *c) Plate ownership*

As all are interdependent, it was necessary to consider the corresponding proportions of furniture and plate to confirm the significance of the changing proportions of linen. These are illustrated for each period between 1500 and 1725 in Figs 7.4 to 7.11. With increasing wealth the proportions by value of both linen and furniture fell with a

responding rise in plate. However, the rates of the decline in furniture and increase in plate were not uniform for each period, but consistently eased between the beginning of the sixteenth century and the Civil War. The maximum proportions of plate and the minimum proportion of furniture occurred in the fourth quartiles, shown on Fig 7.12. The plate proportion fell from a high of 75 per cent in 1500-24, through 62 per cent and 48 per cent, to 39 per cent in 1575-99. Furniture responded directly by rising over the century from 21 to 51 per cent, whilst linen rose from some 4 to 10 per cent.

This dramatic fall in the proportion of the value of plate appears to result from the differential rates of inflation between plate and other household goods, including luxury goods such as tapestries and damask napery. Philippa Glanville alludes to this in *Silver in Tudor and Early Stuart England*,

Two phenomena characterized early modern Europe: the price rise and the increase in material goods, particularly manufactured luxuries ... By 1603 prices stood at between three and five times their late fifteenth century level. To put it simplistically, there was more coin around pushing up prices, with the obvious exception of those items made of the precious metal. Since the raw material, rather than labour charges, was by far the largest element in the cost of silverware, they became in effect cheaper and so more widely available.<sup>64</sup>

In comparison with general prices, silver only rose from 3s per oz in 1475 to 4s 10d per oz in 1600, a factor of 1.6 or about a third of the general rate of inflation identified by Phelps Brown and Hopkins. One effect of these differential rates of price inflation can be illustrated by converting the mean expenditure on plate in the fourth quartiles into equivalent weights of white plate, using the contemporary costs per oz. To do this, it is first necessary to remove jewellery from the plate total, as the sample after 1675 contains many Londoners who with the rise of an active diamond trade between England and India spent large sums of money on splendid diamond jewellery.<sup>65</sup> (This has distorted Fig. 7.12, which suggests that plate expenditure by proportion was higher after 1675 than before the Civil War.) When jewellery is removed from all the fourth quartile plate subtotals, the mean equivalent weights of white

<sup>64</sup> Glanville (1990), 69.

<sup>65</sup> Before the Civil War, jewellery was a very small proportion of the plate and jewellery totals in the first three quartiles, and even in the fourth quartile was generally less than 15 per cent. In contrast after 1675, jewellery constituted between 25 and 35 per cent of the plate category. Jewellery belonging to wives was rarely included in pre-Civil War inventories. Even very wealthy merchants like Austen Hynde had £1,020 of plate but just £200 of jewellery, including his 'grete cheyne of Angel golde' at £84, 1554 HYNDE. The Orphans Court inventories, however, included jewellery that belonged to the wife of the deceased. For example, Sir Peter Floyer, a London refiner, had £421 of plate, but £869 of jewellery including a pair 'of large Rose Diamond Earrings' valued at £400, 1701 FLOYER; similarly, Sir John Foche, a London merchant, had £288 of plate, but £778 of jewellery including a diamond necklace, two breast jewels and buckle, and a pair of earrings valued at £730, 1701 FOCHE.



plate are remarkably similar for the whole period from 1500 until 1750, save for the hiatus caused by the Civil War (Table 7.8).

TABLE 7.8 EQUIVALENT WEIGHTS OF WHITE PLATE FOR THE FOURTH QUARTILES OF INVENTORY SAMPLE, 1500-1750

PERIOD	HOUSEHOLD GOODS TOTAL B	PROPORTION OF PLATE LESS JEWELS TO TOTAL B	VALUE OF PLATE LESS JEWELS	COST OF WHITE PLATE	EQUIVALENT WEIGHT OF WHITE PLATE
	£	%	£	s. d./oz	oz
1500-24	196	67	131	3 - 1	850
1525-49	348	61	212	4 - 4	980
1550-74	569	44	246	4 - 8	1050
1575-99	689	32	220	4 - 10	910
1600-24)					
1625-49)	701	32	224	5 - 0	900
1650-74	601	21	126	5 - 0	500
1675-99	844	30	253	5 - 2	980
1700-24	708	30	212	5 - 4	800
1725-49	694	32	222	5 - 4	830
1642-62	354	18	62	5 - 0	250

This analysis of plate holdings can be used to examine two ideas that have been commonly held. Firstly, that spare cash was invested in plate during the sixteenth century, for want of other investment opportunities. Although plate was viewed as both a readily convertible asset and a convenient security against loans, the equivalent weights of plate given in Table 7.8 do not suggest that it was initially bought for other than use or display. Indeed, it would have been financially foolish to invest spare cash in a commodity whose value was clearly failing to keep pace with the general level of inflation. It seems that this was recognised by contemporaries for both the Vintners' and Drapers' Companies sold their plate in the 1540s to acquire property.<sup>66</sup>

The second idea is that there was 'wholesale destruction of plate to support one side or the other during the Civil War'.<sup>67</sup> Philippa Glanville has questioned this view,

The Civil War has often been described as the reason why so little old plate survives, but its destruction has been exaggerated; far more insidious were the constant twin pressures of fashion and the demand for cash.<sup>68</sup>

Doubtless she is right as to the exaggeration, for the destruction was not 'wholesale'. Nevertheless, the sample indicates that there was a distinct fall in plate holdings at that time. For example, the fourth quartile holdings for 1650-74 were much lower than the previous periods but recovered by the following period, 1675-99 (Fig. 7.12). To check this, the equivalent weight of plate was calculated for those inventories between 1642 and 1662.

<sup>66</sup> Glanville (1987), 28. It may, of course, have had more to do with their property strategies.

<sup>67</sup> Banister, (1965) 12. Oman (1965), 3.

<sup>68</sup> Glanville (1990), 12.

This showed the proportion of plate at its lowest level and the equivalent weight at a half of the value for 1650-74 (see bottom line of Table 7.8). This pattern corresponds to the melt of plate to finance the war taking place in the 1640s and to the recovery of plate production in the 1650s. The records of the Assay Office at Goldsmiths' Hall show that little plate was struck in London between 1642 and 1647. The recovery in manufacture started in 1648 and from 1655, until the Plague ten years later, was at a similar level to the early 1630s.<sup>69</sup>

#### 7.4 CONCLUSIONS

Until about 1600, most fine figured napery was diaper or damask woven in the Low Countries. It was expensive and its ownership was limited to the crown, nobility, wealthier gentry and London merchant elite. By 1525, most noblemen owned some damask table linen but only a small minority from the other groups. The second half of the century saw not only a considerable expansion in ownership among gentlemen and merchants but also larger holdings of table linen by individuals within all the status groups. The first half of the seventeenth century exhibited similar patterns of ownership but from the Restoration the situation was transformed by an influx of cheap Sletia damask and French diaper, together with the development of huckaback weaving in England. By 1700, many of the 'middling sort' now covered their tables with figured rather than plain linens.

The analysis of expenditure upon household goods indicated that differential rates of inflation may have been an important factor in the increase in the number and variety of goods found in the houses of the wealthy. This was particularly the case during the sixteenth century when William Harrison wrote in *The Description of England*, first published in 1587,

The furniture of our houses also exceedeth and is grown in manner even to passing delicacy; and herein I do not speak of the nobility and gentry only but likewise of the lowest sort in most places of our south Contry that have anything at all to take to. Certes in noblemen's houses it is not rare to see abundance of arras, rich hangings of tapestry, silver vessel, and so much other plate as may furnish sundry cupboards ... Likewise in the houses of knights, gentlemen, merchantmen, and some other wealthy citizens, it is not geason [uncommon] to behold generally their great provision of tapestry, Turkey work, pewter, brass, fine linen, and thereto costly cupboards of plate ...<sup>70</sup>

<sup>69</sup> Mitchell (1995B), 12, fig. 2. Plate touched at Goldsmiths' Hall 1600-1700.

<sup>70</sup> Harrison (1587)\*, 200.

Harrison was clearly puzzled by this burgeoning of luxury goods at a time of high inflation, and sought an explanation in rising rents. Likewise economic historians have drawn attention to the rise in landlords' incomes relative to the prices of food and manufactured goods.<sup>71</sup> These relationships have also formed part of the explanation for the decline, perceived by some scholars, in the prosperity of the aristocracy relative to the squirearchy.<sup>72</sup>

Although rising rents were doubtless of importance, neither Harrison nor more recent commentators appear to have drawn attention to the impact of the fall in the real cost of silver on the purchasing capacity of nobles, wealthy gentry and merchants that customarily owned quantities of plate. A simple, if crude example will suffice to show the scale of this impact. In 1497, the London joiner Richard Bromer had 'plate with other jewellis' valued at £116, equivalent to 773 oz of white plate. A century later the equivalent sum to this £116 when adjusted for inflation would have been about £440, but 773 oz of white plate then cost just £190, leaving a notional £250 to be spent either on other household goods, or invested in land or property.

Unfortunately, few of the inventory sample have a complete record of moveable wealth, so it is impossible to tell whether the proportion by value of household goods remained constant in real terms or if part of these notional savings were invested in leases in the sixteenth century, and later in the variety of new financial instruments.

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<sup>71</sup> Clay (1984), 24.

<sup>72</sup> Stone (1965B), particularly Chapter 6, refers to earlier work by Tawney and others.

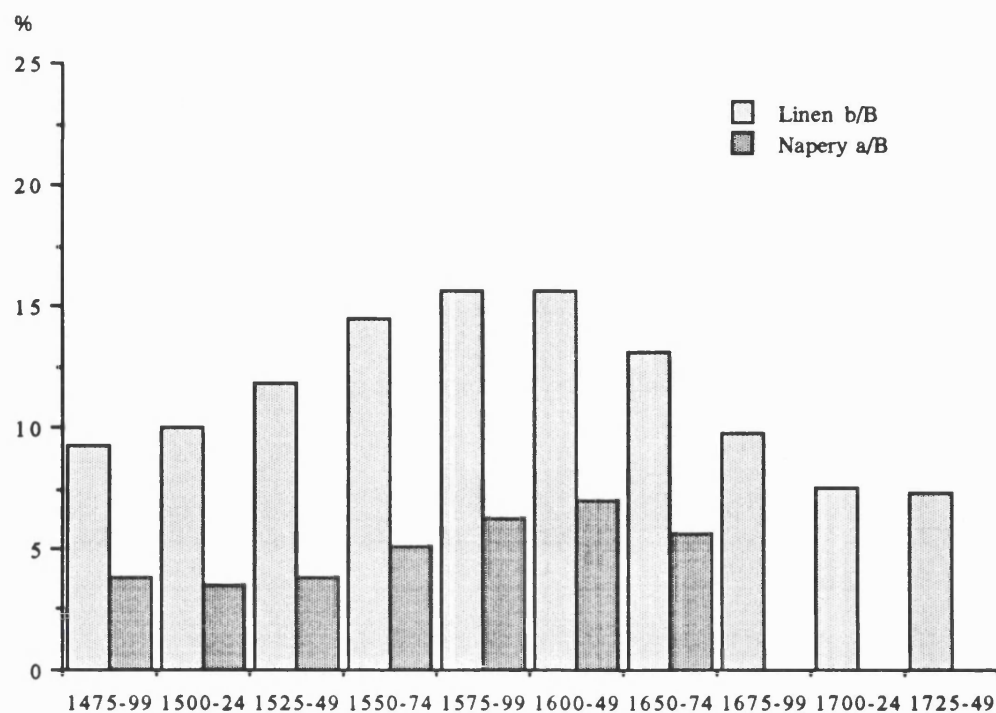


FIG. 7.1 PROPORTIONAL HOLDINGS OF NAPERY AND LINEN RELATIVE TO HOUSEHOLD GOODS (TOTAL B), 1475-1750  
 (Mean values of b/B and a/B for all four quartiles for each period)

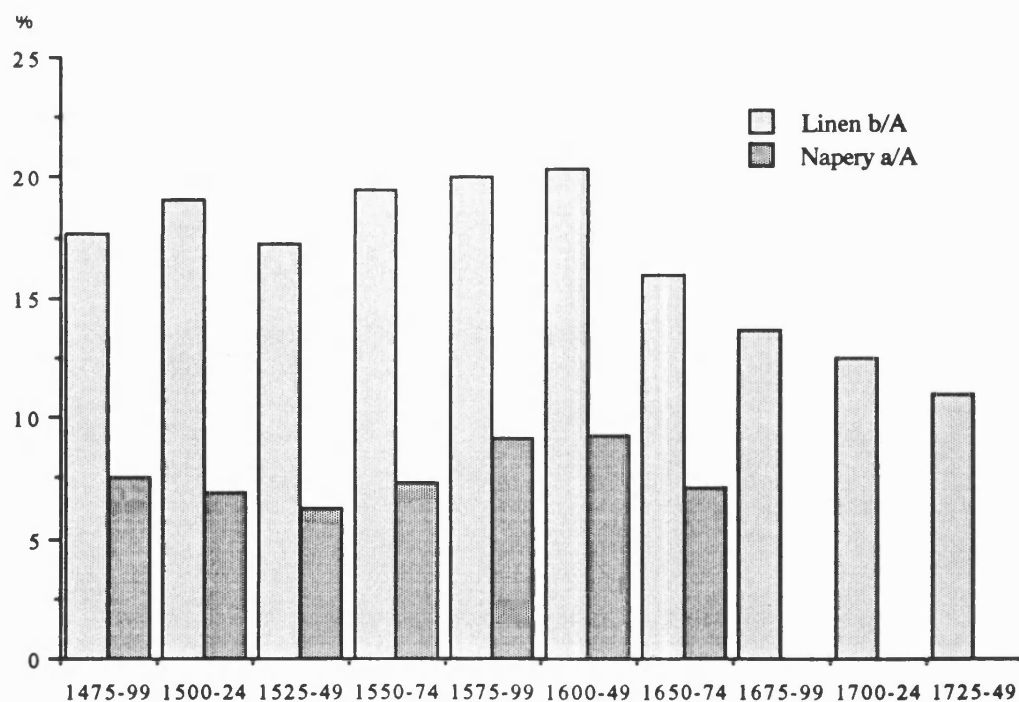


FIG. 7.2 PROPORTIONAL HOLDINGS OF NAPERY AND LINEN RELATIVE TO LINEN AND FURNITURE (TOTAL A), 1475-1750  
 (Mean values of b/A and a/A for all four quartiles for each period)

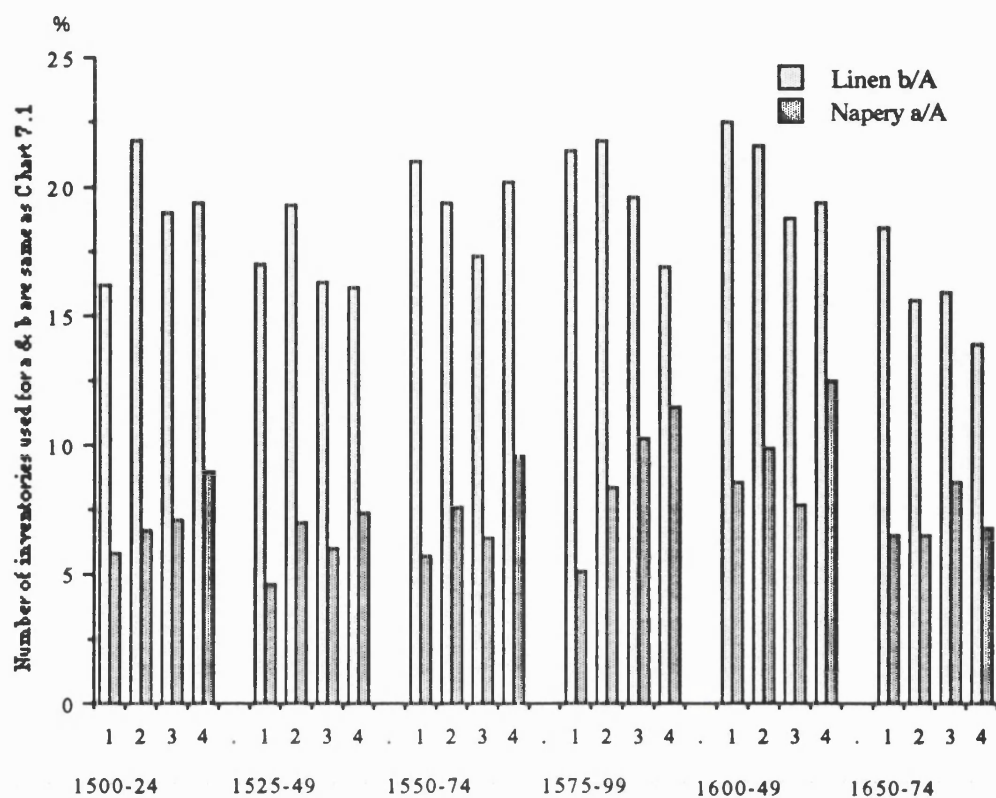


FIG. 7.3 PROPORTIONAL HOLDINGS OF NAPERIES AND LINEN RELATIVE TO LINEN AND FURNITURE (TOTAL A) BY QUARTILES OF WEALTH, 1500-1674 (Mean values of b/A and a/A for each quarter)

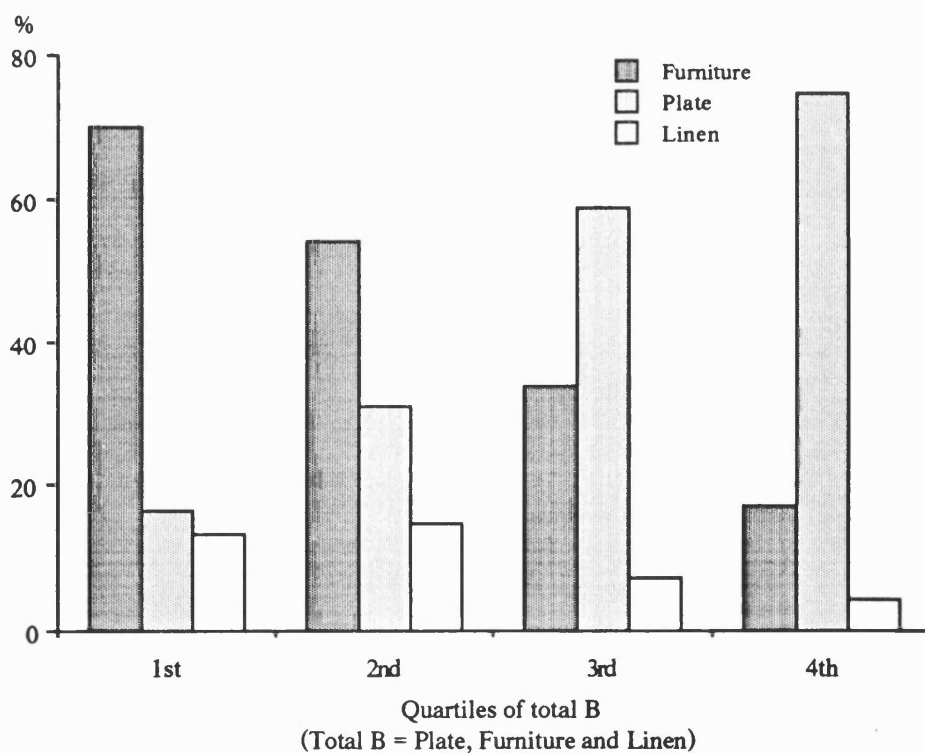


FIG. 7.4 PROPORTIONAL VALUE OF HOUSEHOLD GOODS, 1500-1524

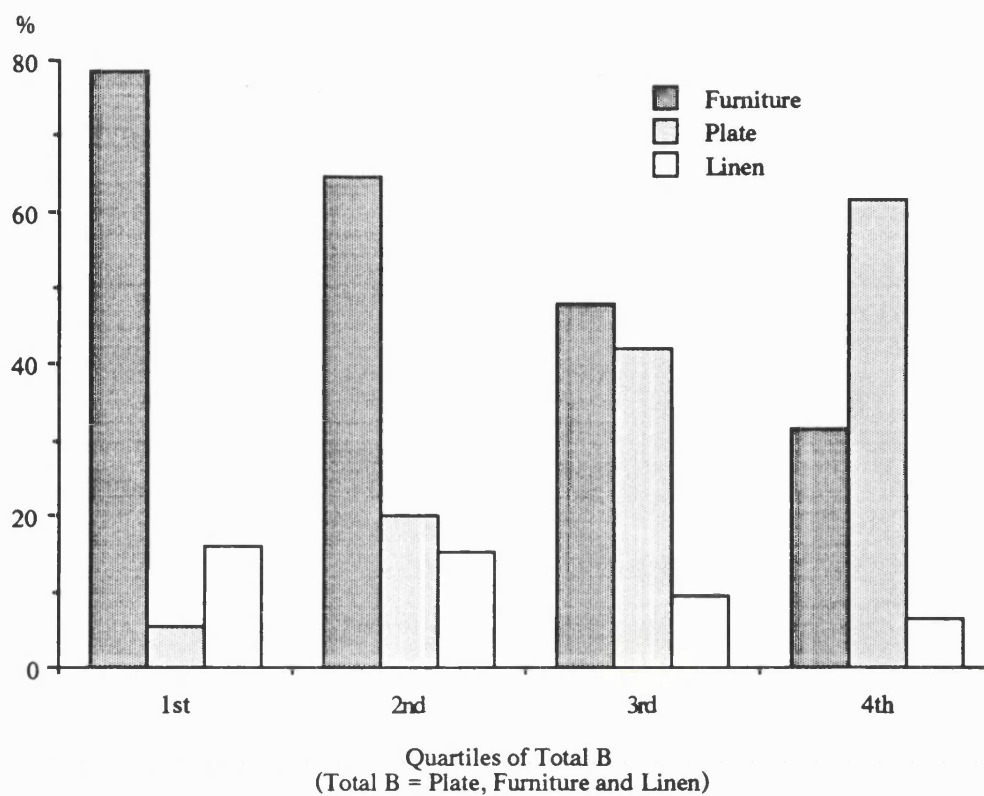


FIG. 7.5 PROPORTIONAL VALUE OF HOUSEHOLD GOODS, 1525-49

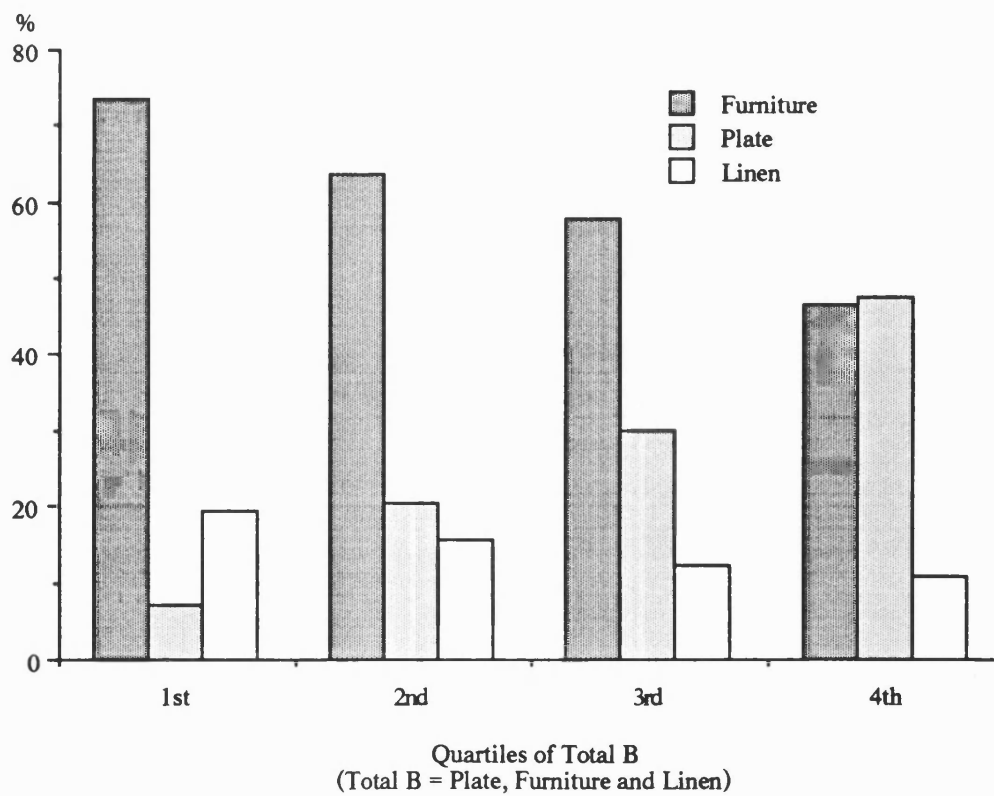


FIG. 7.6 PROPORTIONAL VALUE OF HOUSEHOLD GOODS, 1550-74

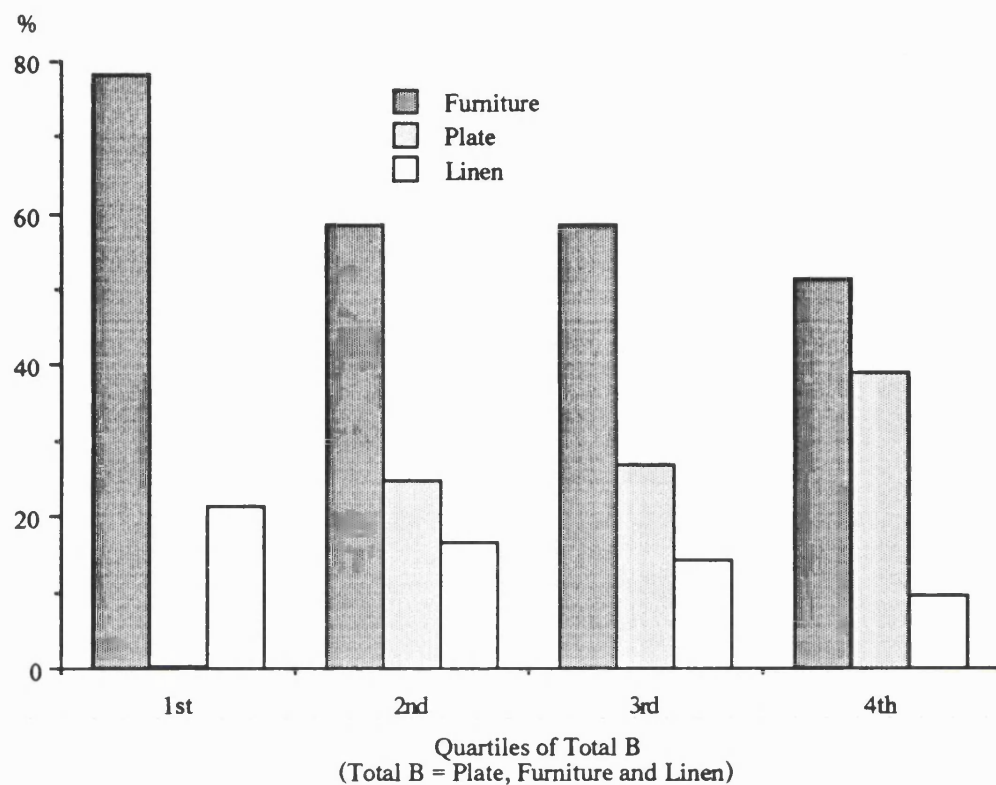


FIG. 7.7 PROPORTIONAL VALUE OF HOUSEHOLD GOODS, 1575-99

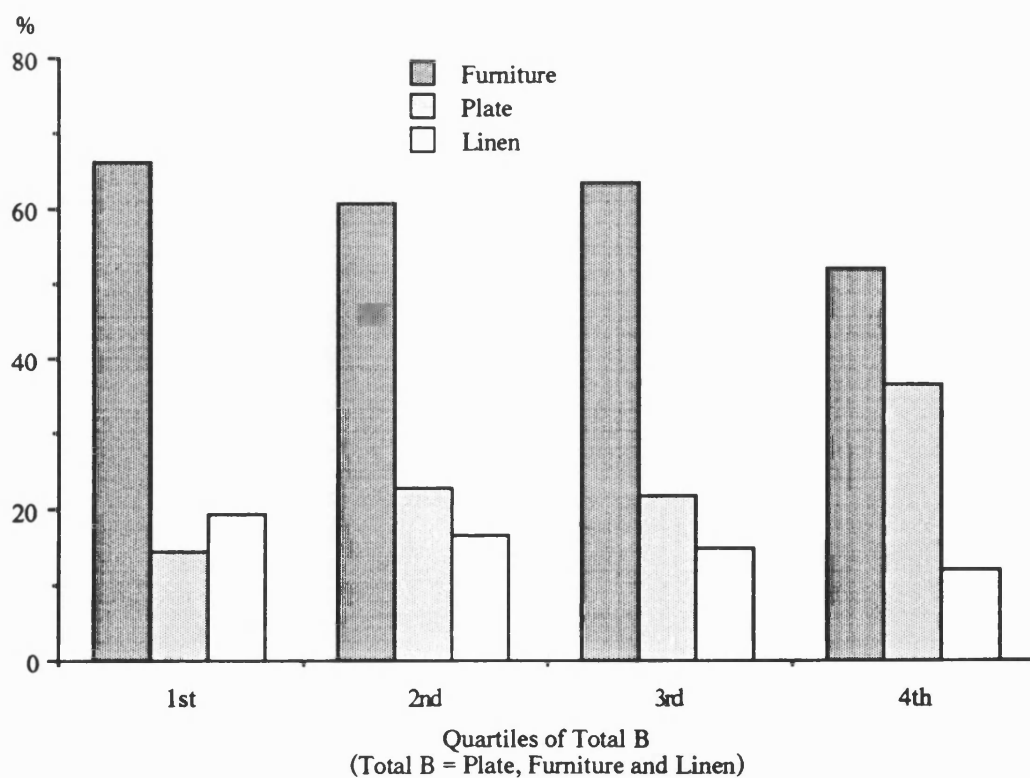


FIG. 7.8 PROPORTIONAL VALUE OF HOUSEHOLD GOODS, 1600-49



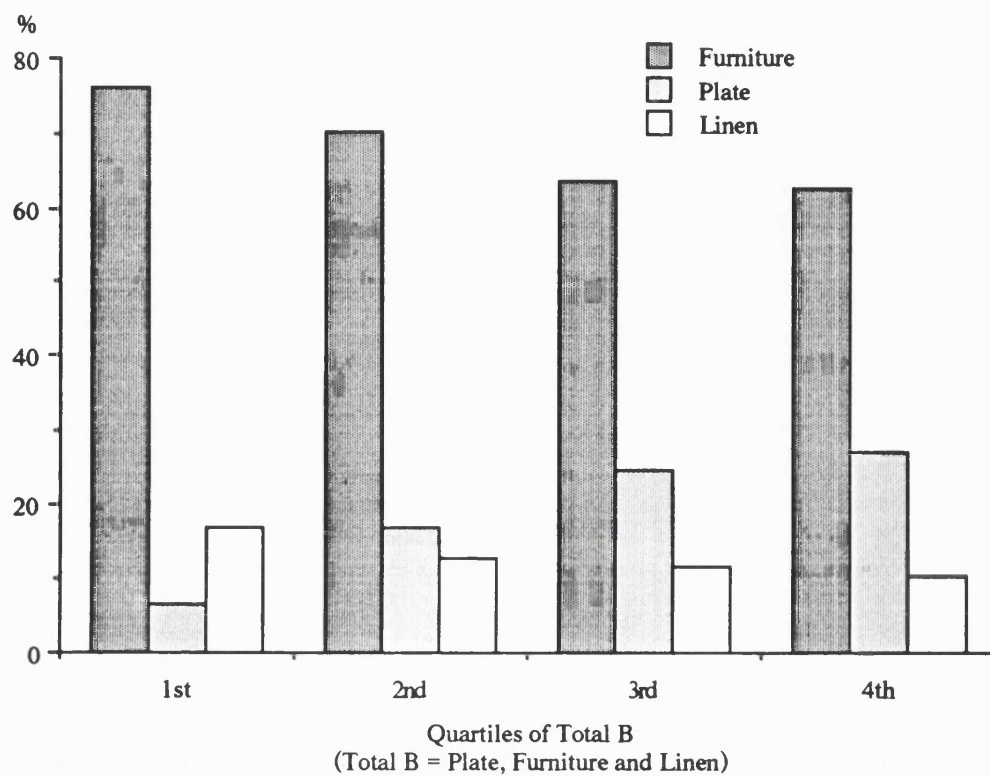


FIG. 7.9 PROPORTIONAL VALUE OF HOUSEHOLD GOODS, 1650-74

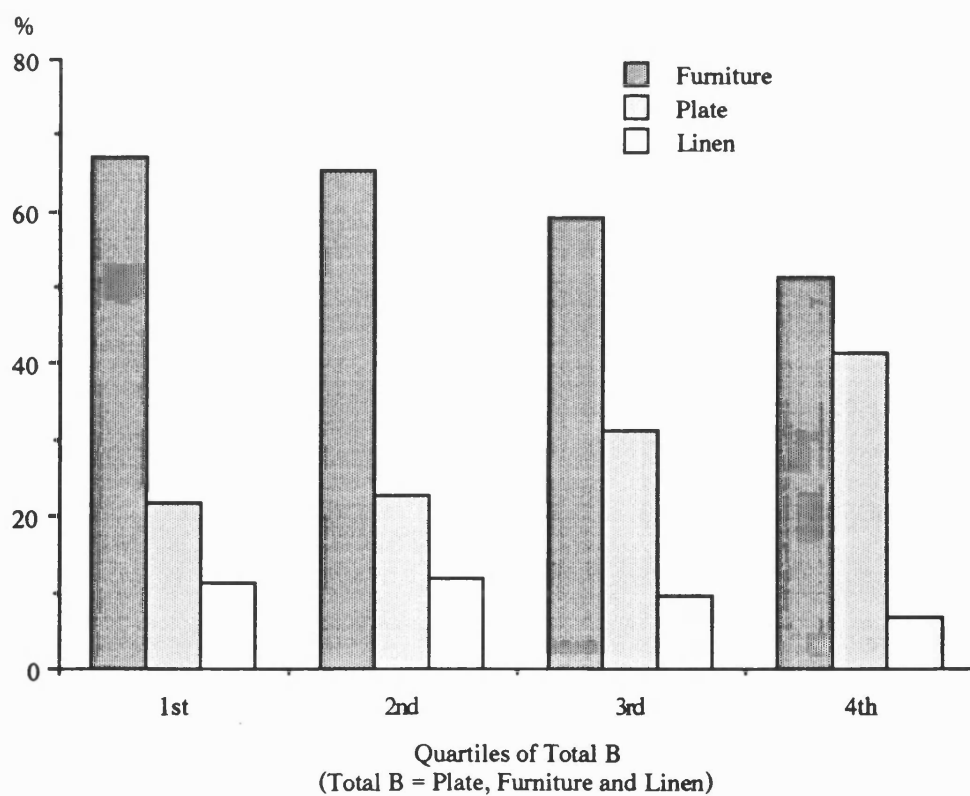


FIG. 7.10 PROPORTIONAL VALUE OF HOUSEHOLD GOODS, 1675-99

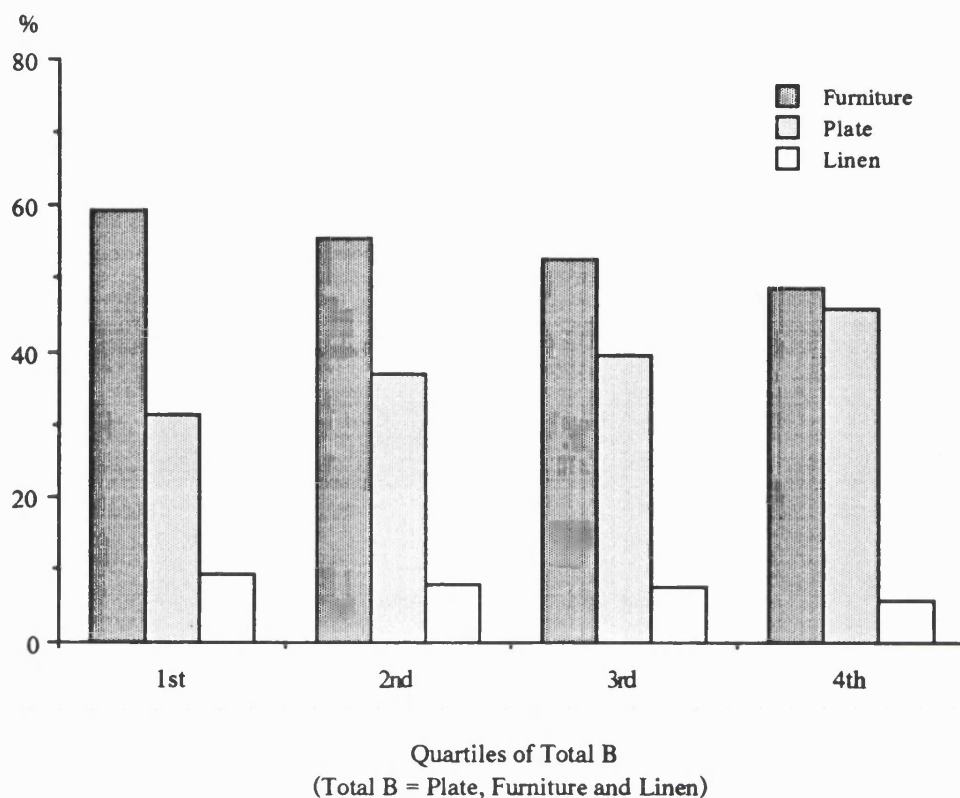


FIG. 7.11 PROPORTIONAL VALUE OF HOUSEHOLD GOODS, 1700-24

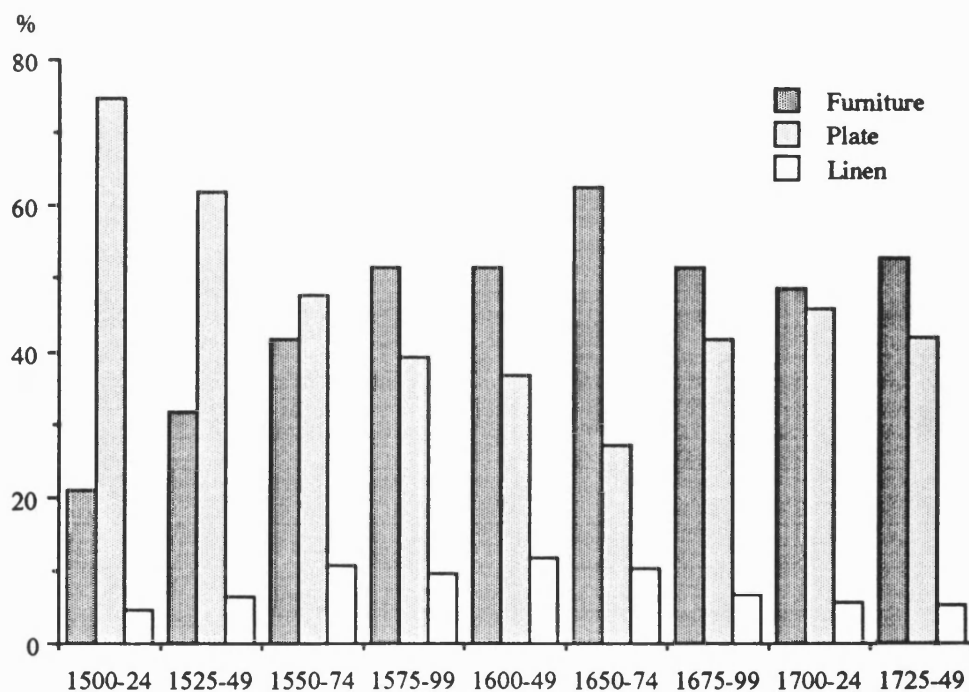


FIG. 7.12 PROPORTIONAL VALUE OF FURNITURE, PLATE AND LINEN FOR FOURTH QUARTILES, 1500-1750

## CHAPTER 8 COST, CARE AND CONSUMPTION

*It is represented unto us by the Serg<sup>t</sup> of his Maties Ewery that the roome allotted . . . for the keeping sweet & preserving the store of Table Linnen . . . stands upon the water side, And the common sewer running under it, and having noe chimney to it . . . Our request to you [Christopher Wren] therefore is that you would give present order for the building a chimney in the said roome, w<sup>th</sup> such other reparations & convenient presses as shall seeme Expedient.<sup>1</sup>*

- Board of the Greencloth, Whitehall, 1669

Because of the difficulty of calculating the rate at which goods were consumed, or used up, certain historians have tended to use the term 'consumption' rather loosely. Thus consumption has been sometimes applied to the rate of supply of particular goods and at others to the extent of their ownership. In this thesis, the imports of linen damask and diaper were discussed in Chapter 4. Before the development of centres of production in Scotland and Ireland which obscured the quantity of damask and diaper sold in England, these imports could be considered as yearly consumption. However, subsequent discussions of the patterns of ownership of table linen in Chapter 7 indicated that during the sixteenth century and beyond, there was an increase in the average holdings of figured table linen. This must have resulted in a year-on-year increase in the national stock, implying that the rate of consumption was less than the rate of supply.

Although it is impossible to calculate consumption in its strict sense for the nation's stocks of damask and diaper napery, it can be done for the royal household, the single most important consumer. The main cause of wear in table linen is regular washing. This chapter, therefore, considers the household's care of napery, particularly the laundry records which in connection with the rates of acquisition and rejection largely determine the rate of consumption. It also considers actual expenditure on napery including an outline of unit costs, as so far this thesis has been concerned with valuations, whether of imports using customs rates or items within probate inventories.

### 8.1 COST: BUDGETS AND EXPENDITURE

Royal and noble households were departmentalised and generally included an office responsible for the supply and care of the household's table linen. In the English royal

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<sup>1</sup> PRO LS13/104 Book of Letters. Board of Greencloth at Whitehall, 8 April 1669, to Doctor Wren Esq Surveyor Generall of his Maties Workes.

household this was called the 'Ewary and Napery' in the Black Book of Edward IV.<sup>2</sup> From Henry VIII's reign it was referred to simply as 'The Ewery', the name deriving from the ewers used in the washing of hands, which was one of the office's responsibilities. Closely connected with the Ewery was the Table Laundry. At the Restoration, the Lord Steward's department was responsible for provisioning and serving the Court through the offices 'below stairs', of which the Ewery was one of sixteen. The department was directed by the Board of the Greencloth which met regularly and exercised financial control through various clerks; the Ewery being the responsibility of the Clerk of the Spicery.

The 'Establishment', a book with annual budgets for items of regular expenditure imposed financial discipline upon the clerks, who were personally responsible for any excess expenditure.<sup>3</sup> Establishment books were issued at the beginning of the reign and subsequently if necessary, and were inspected and signed by the monarch. They included 'annual budgets' for the provision of table linen for the various tables in the household and coarse linen for the kitchen, scullery and other offices, as well as for the making and marking of cloths and for their laundry (Ill. 8.1). Expenditure against items specified in the budget was recorded in the Comptroller's accounts, whilst 'extraordinary' expenditure which could not be foreseen, such as for visits by foreign princes and royal marriages, in the Creditor's accounts. The linen budget of 1470 for the Duke of Clarence (Chapter 7.1) and the annual provision of £100 made for the supply of 'dyaper and lynnene clothes' for Henry VII's household suggests that elements of this system were established during the fifteenth century.<sup>4</sup> By the reign of James I the records of Sir Julius Caesar indicate that the recording of expenditure against annual budgets had become standard practice.<sup>5</sup>

The largest noble households operated in an analogous way to the royal household. In 1512, the Earl of Northumberland's household had a similar if simpler departmental structure to that of Henry VIII. It numbered in Gentlemen servants and officers some 166,

2 Nichols (1790)\*, 83. Also see Myers (1985), 247.

3 In 1665, Robert Hope, the Clerk of the Spicery, was charged £6,355 for 'great Arrears' of goods including table linen. LS13/170, 369.

4 PRO E101/416/10 Estimate of the Yearly Expenses . . . Henry VII.

5 LS13/280 'Charge of Household, 1 Oct 1604 - 31 Sept 1605', 126

his Ma <sup>ts</sup> charge last year	73012	5	11 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>4</sub>	(Presumably taken from the Comptroller's or similar accounts)
the Prince his house	9799	7	13 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>4</sub>	(From a separate but similar account)
spent more in his Mats house	6400		0	(Probably 'extraordinary' expenditure)
Warrents, etc	6000	0	0	(Expenditure authorised by royal warrant: e.g. to the Jewel House for new supplies of plate)
	<hr/>			
	£95211	13	1 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	

and included yeomen officers for the Ewery, Pantry, Cellar, Buttery and other offices below stairs. Northumberland had a detailed provision for plain linen (70 ells) for 'myne house for oone hole Yere' which did not include napery for his own table.<sup>6</sup> This implies that damask and diaper table linen was not purchased on an annual basis. Such noblemen, however, regularly bought figured table linen: for example, the household books of Lord William Howard record at least five purchases of diaper during the 1620s for his castle at Naworth and his London house, with less frequent purchases of damask.<sup>7</sup>

Within the royal household, several parcels of table linen were purchased each year from the royal linen drapers (Chapter 6.5). The Serjeant of the Ewery who recommended these purchases and the Board of the Greencloth that sanctioned them were clearly aware of the constraints of the Establishment books, as linen expenditure, including extraordinary purchases for events such as Coronations, fell largely within the budgets from the reign of Charles II to that of George I. It was only under George II that the targets were conspicuously missed, with an overspend of nearly 50 per cent (Table 8.1).

TABLE 8.1 COMPARISON BETWEEN BUDGETED AND ACTUAL EXPENDITURE ON NAPERY IN THE ROYAL HOUSEHOLD, 1660-1760

REIGN	ESTABLISHMENT BOOKS			COMPTROLLER'S AND CREDITORS' ACCOUNTS	
	Date	Budget <sup>a</sup>	Ref.	Period <sup>b</sup>	Mean expenditure <sup>c</sup>
CHARLES II		£	PRO LS13/		£
	1664	1170	33		
	1664?	1033	34	1664-68	363
	1668	568	35	1668-74	536
	1674	1088	36	1674-79	482
	1679	494	37	1679-85	311
JAMES II	1685	625	38	1685-88	711 <sup>d</sup>
WILLIAM & MARY	1689	930	39	1688-99	776
	1699	539	40	1699-1701	440
	1701	406	41	1701-02	18
ANNE	1702	763	43	1702-14	753
GEORGE I	1714	863	44	1714-27	660
GEORGE II	1727	820	46		
	Undated	1120	47	1727-59	1641

*Notes*

- a This included the allowances for linen for the tables, coarse linen for the offices, and making and marking.
- b The accounts generally ran from 1 October until 30 September the following year.
- c The mean expenditure includes all purchases of table linen and coarse linen, fees to the Clerk of the Spicery, additional customs duties and costs of making and marking.
- d The overspend resulted from extraordinary expenditure on the Venetian Ambassador, the Coronation and the Queen of Portugal.

<sup>6</sup> Percy (1770)\*, 15.

<sup>7</sup> Howard (1878)\*. Purchases of diaper in 1621, 1623, 1627 and 1628, totalling 24 doz. napkins and about 70 yds of tabling. Damask was bought in 1625 and 1633. Lord Howard's household in 1621 numbered 51.

The problems during George II's reign appear to have stemmed from unrealistic budgets. Additional napery was required as there were several more tables than in previous reigns to cater for the King's large family. Further, unlike his father, the King dined regularly in public when he presumably used the expensive, superfine damask napery, initially commissioned in the Low Countries, and from 1737 in Ireland, bearing the King's arms (see Ill. 9.51). The reason for the overspending was certainly not oversupply, for in 1731 the table laundress Dorothy Phillips was granted an allowance of £20 to cover her extra expenses, as she commonly had to wash 'twice a week the Stock of Table Linnen not being sufficient'.<sup>8</sup> These particular difficulties were probably compounded by general inefficiency within the court which was reflected both in a number of disputes between officers and in the quality of the minutes of the Greencloth. In previous reigns the latter had been quite extensive but became slighter as George II's reign progressed, culminating with several entries in the 1740s stating, 'Nothing material occurring in the month of April no Minutes were taken'.<sup>9</sup> On George III's accession a detailed enquiry was instituted under William Bray which resulted in substantial reform of the management of the household.<sup>10</sup>

## 8.2 COST: UNIT COSTS OF DAMASK AND DIAPER NAPERY

It is difficult to track the unit costs of damask and diaper napery as it was woven in different qualities, defined in both Kortrijk and Haarlem in hundreds of warp threads per ell of width. Even the same patterns were made in several qualities: for example, the stock of the Haarlem linen merchant, Quirijn Jansz Damast in 1650 included damask loom pieces of the story of Orpheus in three qualities, 22<sup>c</sup>, 24<sup>c</sup> and 29<sup>c</sup> and 'pavy' diaper in no less than seven qualities, varying from a coarse 18<sup>c</sup> to a very fine 34<sup>c</sup>.<sup>11</sup> Similarly, the surviving examples of the pattern of Queen Elizabeth with the arms of Anne Boleyn vary considerably in quality.<sup>12</sup>

Apart from quality, the width of the cloth and complication of the pattern affected its cost. Invariably the cost per unit length was directly related to its width; three-ell-wide tabling costing three times one-ell-wide napkining. Damasks with several registers, for example illustrating different scenes of a biblical story, had long repeats and were more expensive than floral designs with more modest repeats. The most expensive damasks were those designed for a particular commission with personal arms, devices and inscriptions. Comparisons of the values of damask and diaper tabling in the Book of Rates with costs of

<sup>8</sup> LS8/70, 21v & LS13/116, 44.

<sup>9</sup> LS13/116, 86v, 96v.

<sup>10</sup> Beattie (1967), 96.

<sup>11</sup> Six (1910).

<sup>12</sup> Mitchell (1997A). Miles Martin, the royal linen draper delivered 20c, 12/4 diaper tabling in 1660, LS1/2, and specified '27c Diaper Tabling' in his contract of 1673, LS12/18, 106.

new or uncut pieces, taken either from the inventory sample or books of accounts are given in Tables 8.2 and 8.3.

TABLE 8.2 UNIT COST OF NEW 'HOLLAND' DAMASK, 1500-1700

BOOKS OF RATES VALUES <sup>a</sup>		UNIT COSTS OF NEW 'HOLLAND' DAMASK <sup>b</sup>			
Date	Tabling per yd	Date	Reference	Description	Tabling per yd
		1507	HENRY VII (LC9/51)	Diaper	27s 6d <sup>g</sup>
		"		Diaper	5s 0d
		1533	PLYMLEY <sup>c</sup>	Diap. newe of fyne damask	2s 6d
		1534	WEST	Fyne diap.	4s 0d
		"		Dia. w <sup>t</sup> plus outtre	3s 6d
		"		Diaper	2s 6d
		1547	HENRY VIII	Abraham & Sara	12s 0d
		"		Cayne & Abel	12s 0d
		"		Great damaske work	9s 7 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> d
		"		Damask	5s 5 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub> d
		1551	CAVENDISH	Abraham	12s 0d
		"	(Hardwick MS1)	Course dyap.	5s 4d
		1554	HYNDE	newe damaske worke	8s 0d
1558	3s 4d				
		1589	Thorold Rogers <sup>d</sup>	Damask	5s 6d
		1591	SHREWSBURY	Abraham	20s 0d <sup>g</sup>
		"	(Hardwick MS7)	Abraham	14s 0d
		1594	FAIRFAX	damaske	6s 8d
		"		newe damaske	5s 4d
1604	6s				
		1607	PRINCE OF WALES (LC13/280)	Damask	10s 0d
		1608	JAMES I (LS13/168)	Damask ... the best	18s 0d
		"		Damask ... the second	16s 0d
		"		Damask tabling	8s 6d
		1608	Thorold Rogers <sup>d</sup>	Damask	10s 0d
		1613	"	Damask	10s 0d
		1617	CHOLMELEY <sup>e</sup>	Storye damaske	9s 0d
		"		Damask	8s 0d
		1618	Thorold Rogers <sup>d</sup>	Master's [St John's, Cam.]	9s 0d
		1618	JAMES I (LS13/168)	best sorte [King's]	16s 0d
		"		second sorte [King's]	14s 0d
		"		Lordes Damask	8s 6d
		1626	Thorold Rogers <sup>d</sup>	Warden's [New Coll. Ox.]	20s 0d
		1633	HOWARD <sup>f</sup>	Damask	10s 0d
		1639	DORCHESTER	Faire damaske	14s 0d
		1642	ESSEX (BL Add.46189)	Damask	7s 7d
		"		Damask	7s 0d
1660	20s				
		1660	CHARLES II (LS1/2)	Superfine	20s 0d
		"		Fine	15s 0d
		"		Damask	11s 0d
		1666	Thorold Rogers <sup>d</sup>	Damask (Yotes Court)	7s 6d
		1669	CHARLES II (LS1/11)	Superfine [Queen's]	12s 0d
		"		Damask	10s 0d
		1686	JAMES II (LS8/22)	Superfine [King's]	16s 0d
		"		Dam	10s 0d



## Notes

- a See Table 4.1.  
 b Some of the rates are for uncut napkining and towelling pieces, or 4 ell wide tabling. These are adjusted to give equivalent 3 ell tabling costs.  
 c References for entries of this type are found in Appendix A.  
 d Thorold Rogers (1963).  
 e Cholmeley (1988)\*.  
 f Howard (1878)\*.  
 g The width is not given in this case and is possibly 4 rather than 3 ells.

TABLE 8.3 UNIT COST OF NEW 'HOLLAND' DIAPER, 1500-1700

BOOKS OF RATES VALUES <sup>a</sup>		UNIT COSTS OF NEW 'HOLLAND' DIAPER <sup>b</sup>			
Date	Tabling per yd	Date	Reference	Description	Tabling per yd
		1494	WARYN <sup>c</sup>	Diaper	1s 6d
		1500	Thorold Rogers <sup>d</sup>	Diap. High table [Cam.]	1s 0 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>4</sub> d
		1505	HENRY VII (LC9/50)	Diaper	1s 5d
		1508	Thorold Rogers <sup>d</sup>	Diaper (Oxford)	1s 0d
		1525	NORTHUMBERLAND	Diaper for board clo.	1s 4d
		1533	AMADAS	Crosse Dyamondes	1s 0d
		1534	WEST	Diaper	1s 8d
		1547	HENRY VIII	Diaper	2s 8d
		"	"	"	1s 8d
		1552	BELLASIS	Diaper	1s 0d
1558	2s				
		1559	MAYNERDE	remn. of dyaper	2s 4d
		1560	Thorold Rogers <sup>d</sup>	Diaper [Cam.]	2s 8d
		1568	"	Diaper [Oxford]	3s 3d
		1582	SOUTHEREN	Diaper	2s 6 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>4</sub> d
		1591	Thorold Rogers <sup>d</sup>	Diaper [Corpus, Oxford]	4s 3d
		1594	"	Diaper [Star Chamber]	5s 4d
		1598	"	Diaper [All Souls, Oxford]	4s 0d
		1600	"	Diaper [Corpus, Oxford]	2s 9d
1604	3s				
		1608	JAMES I (LS13/168)	Diaper	4s 0d
		1613	Thorold Rogers <sup>d</sup>	Broad [Cam.]	4s 0d
		1620	JAMES I (LS13/279)	Diaper	3s 2d
		1627	HOWARD <sup>f</sup>	Hollin diaper	3s 7d
		1628	"	Diaper	4s 0d
		1655	Thorold Rogers <sup>d</sup>	Diaper [Yotes Court]	4s 10 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> d
1660	9s				
		1660	CHARLES II (LS1/2)	20 <sup>c</sup> : 12/4 Diaper	8s 0d
		"		Diaper	9s 0d
		"		"	5s 0d
		1672	LENNOX	"	4s 6d
		1679	CHARLES II (LS1/21)	"	7s 0d
		"	CHARLES II (LS13/18)	27 <sup>c</sup> : Diaper	8s 0d
		1682	Woburn <sup>h</sup>	Holland diaper	6s 6d
		"	"	"	8s 0d
		1686	JAMES II (LS1/29)	Diaper	6s 0d
		1693	Woburn <sup>h</sup>	Diaper	7s 6d
		"	"	Diaper	5s 6d
		1696	J.F. <sup>i</sup>	Holland diaper	6s 0d
		1698	WILLIAM III (LS1/41)	Diaper	9s 9d

*Notes*a to g - See Table 8.2, *Notes*.

h V &amp; A RC U 21. Bills for haberdashery from Woburn Abbey 1666-93.

i J.F. (1696)\*.

These tables show the wide range of napery available, with the difference in unit cost between the ordinary and the best qualities being between three and four times for damask and about one-and-a-half for diaper. This difference for diaper remains fairly constant throughout the period, but that for damask narrowed in the second half of the seventeenth century. Further, the price differentials between damask and diaper were eroded at the same time: for example, the best damask and diaper for Henry VIII (1547) cost 12s and 2s 8d per yd respectively, a factor of 4.5; for James I (1608), 18s and 4s per yd, a similar factor of 4.5; whereas for James II (1686) the costs were 16s and 6s per yd, a factor of just 2.7.

Although the evidence is limited, it seems diaper became increasingly fashionable in the seventeenth century and was produced in new designs and finer qualities, which must have affected these differentials. Quirijn Jansz Damast's stock list of 1650 has diaper in two principal designs 'pavij' and 'lavendel' which were woven in eight different qualities. Several of these were finer than any of the damasks in the list (Table 8.4).

TABLE 8.4 QUALITY BREAKDOWN OF QUIRIJN JANSZ  
DAMAST'S STOCK, 1650  
[From Six (1910)]

QUALITY In hundreds of threads per ell C	PROPORTION OF TOTAL QUANTITIES	
	Damask %	Diaper %
34	0	2.2
33	0	2.3
30	0	0.3
29	22.0	0
27	0	17.2
26	3.2	0
24	35.5	34.3
22	38.2	0
21	1.1	24.5
19	0	2.4
18	0	16.8

This material was woven in Haarlem and there is no comparative list from Kortrijk. However, 22<sup>c</sup> is the commonest quality found among surviving damasks from the south. Unfortunately, few diapers are found in English or Belgian collections and it is very difficult to differentiate between those woven in the Spanish Netherlands and those in the United Provinces. Nevertheless it is clear that both were imported into England (Chapter 4.4). Happily, the holdings of several Dutch noble families which are now in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, have dated examples of fine quality diaper in a range of

designs.<sup>13</sup> These reflect the description of many diapers in the inventories of the House of Orange.<sup>14</sup> In England, the Duke of Lauderdale's inventory of 1679 includes similar fine diapers: 'of a double rose-worke', 'of Diamond worke', 'of a medlar blossome', 'of Lavender', and 'of paviour worke'.<sup>15</sup> In the same year, the cupboard cloths for their Majesties and the tablecloths for the Maids of Honour were made from 27<sup>c</sup> diaper which was finer than the majority of damasks in Quirijn's stock.

The small differential between ordinary 'Holland' damask and the best 'Holland' diaper is illustrated by the regular purchases for the royal household. These also show that the most expensive bespoke damask cost up to three-and-a-half times the price of ordinary damask in the mid-eighteenth century (Figs 8.1 & 8.2). Although the rates used to assess customs duty were, in theory, current market values, the limited examples of unit costs in Tables 8.2 and 8.3 show that whereas the values for both Holland damask and diaper in the Books of Rates of 1558 and 1604 corresponded to the ordinary quality, those for 1660 corresponded to the very best. The sixfold price inflation indicated by the damask Rates in 1558 and 1660 is therefore misleading. A crude analysis of actual costs gives figures closer to the general level of inflation as calculated by Phelps Brown and Hopkins (Table 8.5).

TABLE 8.5 'HOLLAND' DAMASK AND DIAPER PRICE INFLATION, 1550-1660

BOOKS OF RATES PROPORTIONAL INCREASE			ROYAL HOUSEHOLD ORDINARY QUALITIES PROPORTIONAL INCREASE			PHELPS BROWN INFLATION INDEX
Date	Damask	Diaper	Date	Damask	Diaper	
1558	1.0	1.0	1547	1.0	1.0	1.0
1604	1.8	1.5	1618/20	1.6	2.1	1.4
1660	6.0	4.5	1660	2.0	3.0	2.9

### 8.3 CARE: THE EWERY IN THE ROYAL HOUSEHOLD

#### a) *The officers and their responsibilities*

The Black Book of Edward IV gave details of the eight officers employed in the Ewery in 1472 and their particular responsibilities. The Serjeant had overall responsibility for receiving napery, ewers and basins by indenture and for their subsequent care including reporting any losses. His particular duty was to serve

the King's persone; in coveringe of the bourde, with  
wholsome, cleane and untouched clothes of straungers, and  
with cleane basyns and moste pure watyrs, assayed as often  
as his royall persone shall be served.

<sup>13</sup> Including substantial holdings from the castles of Twickel and Ruurlo.

<sup>14</sup> Drossaers & Lunsingh Scheurleer (1974)\*.

<sup>15</sup> Thornton & Tomlin (1980), 175.

When the napery for the King's table 'will noe longer serve', it was to become the Serjeant's fee. He was assisted in the chamber by a yeoman and groom 'for the King's mouth'. A similar service in the hall was provided by two further yeomen and grooms, with a page to look after the Ewery office.<sup>16</sup>

In Henry VIII's reign, the alterations of 1539 to the Eltham Ordinances mentioned, in addition to the Serjeant, a Gentleman to serve the Queen 'sitting apart'. There was also an injunction to maintain discipline in the Office and to keep it clean from 'Rascalls and Vagabonds'.<sup>17</sup> These regulations were largely reproduced in 1598 as the 'Orders to be daylie observed by the Serjeant and Officers of the Ewrie', although as Elizabeth was unmarried, a Gentleman was not required.<sup>18</sup> Elizabeth and James I kept the same ewery staff; a serjeant, three yeomen, two grooms and a page. At this period losses of tablecloths and napkins clearly became a problem and in 1644 it was recorded that,

yf euer hereafter there shalbe any lost by any meanes  
whatsouer that then they shalbe charged uppon there hedds  
in whose waytinge they were lost and them to supplie the  
number by theire owne purses.

A few years later four officers were charged a total of £59.10.0 for 'certain clothes and napkins lost in the Kinges chamber and elsewhere by the negligence of the Ewerymen'.<sup>19</sup>

From the Restoration, there were generally four or five officers. During the reign of Charles II, the senior officer bore the ancient title of Serjeant and from 1668 was normally assisted by a gentleman, two yeomen, and a groom or a page. From the accession of James II, the use of the title of Serjeant was abandoned, the Gentleman became the senior officer and was assisted by a yeoman and two grooms. All were appointed under warrants, the serjeants and gentlemen from the King and the junior officers from the Lord Steward.

On the death of the sovereign, all appointments were terminated, a new Lord Steward appointed and warrants issued for the officers of the new household.<sup>20</sup> A number of former officers were reappointed, particularly when the new monarch, as in the case of George I, had not previously kept a household in England. James II and George II, who had both kept substantial households when heirs to the throne, largely appointed new men to the senior posts in the offices 'below stairs', presumably those that had formerly served them in similar positions. In his work on Queen Anne's court, R. O. Bucholz asserts that 'a position for life was one thing that most of the Queen's servants could depend on',

<sup>16</sup> Nichols (1790)\*, 83-85.

<sup>17</sup> Nichols (1790)\*, 235.

<sup>18</sup> LS13/168, 7.

<sup>19</sup> LS13/168, for staff, see 368; for regulation regarding losses, see 159; and for losses in 1618, see 390.

<sup>20</sup> Beattie (1967), 177.

quoting in evidence a remark made by Anne to Sarah Churchill, 'who ever I take I reckon tis for ones whole life'.<sup>21</sup> Bucholz calculated the average length of career of her middle and low ranking servants at almost 22 years. Two of the Ewery officers included in these calculations, Josias Poulter and Peter Berry both served as Groom, Yeoman and the Gentleman for 39 and 43 years respectively, being among the very few to serve six monarchs.<sup>22</sup>

In Queen Elizabeth's reign the officers of the Ewery received annual fees and their board. In addition the serjeant and the yeomen received the linen 'when they are dampned', or unfit for royal service.<sup>23</sup> In the seventeenth century they received wages and boardwages. When serving with the household away from London, 'rideing wages' were paid. This occurred regularly under William III who took part of the household on campaign in Ireland and in the Low Countries during the 1690s. Subsequently, George I made regular visits to Hanover. There were also 'extraordinary' payments for service at special entertainments.

Apart from these payments, the Gentleman received fees both for 'providing sweets for their Maties Linnen and orange Flower and Rose-Water for their Maties hands' and for 'making and marking of Table Linen'. Presumably the cost of providing these services was less than the fees paid, for the privilege of receiving them was jealously guarded.<sup>24</sup> In the Establishment books of Charles II and James II, £150 was allowed for the provision of sweets and waters. In 1689, this was drastically reduced to £50, suggesting that forks were by then being widely used at court, reducing the amount of perfumed water required for the washing of hands.<sup>25</sup>

A further source of income was the condemned linen that could be sold to linen drapers in London. The only indication of its value was when Robert Jenkinson, yeoman of the Ewery, agreed to sell seven damask tablecloths at 8s each and seven dozen damask napkins at 8s per dozen.<sup>26</sup> This represented about one-fifth of their cost when new.<sup>27</sup> This 'perk'

21 Bucholz, (1993), 145.

22 Josias Poulter served from 1679 to 1718 and Peter Berry from 1684 to 1726. Charles Calmell also served in all three posts between 1707 and 1727; William Begar, James Towers and James Meredith served in the Ewery for around thirty years each. Also see Bucholz (1993), Table 5.3, 146.

23 Nichols (1790)\*, 286.

24 LS13/170, 196. Minutes of the Greencloth, 16 Dec 1662.

It is further Ordered that the said Serjeant of the Ewry shall have the makeing upp as well as the marking of the Table Lynnen from this tyme forward according to ancient custome.

25 For major entertainments cutlery was hired. For the Dutch Ambassadors in 1673 knives were provided but no forks - LS8/10. However, in 1677 and 1683 forks were provided for the Prince of Orange - LS8/13 & /17 - and also at the coronation in 1685 - LS8/22. The King and Queen seem to have used their own personal forks from the Restoration: in 1671 a case was made for 'ye Queenes knife, fork and spoone' - LS8/8.

26 LS13/116, 25. 13 May 1729. Jenkinson sold the linen before condemnation 'to get Mony to prevent his being Arrested'.

27 Around 1729, ordinary damask tablecloths were typically 3½ yds long at 9s 9d per yd plus 1s for making, i.e. 38s each.

which had been allowed in Edward IV's reign and probably earlier was discontinued in the reorganisation of the household under George III.

And whereas there is great reason to suspect that Our Linen by becoming on condemnation the perquisite of the persons to whose care it was intrusted has been by them wilfully abused and rendered purposely unservicable We do hereby direct all Linen that shall be worn out and deemed by our Board of Greencloth unfit for the use of Our family [i.e. the royal household] to be disposed of to such Hospitals as they shall see proper.<sup>28</sup>

In addition to wages, boardwages, fees and 'perks', there were benefits in kind. Lodgings were provided for the Serjeants and Gentlemen and for some of the other officers.<sup>29</sup> At certain periods, the senior officer ate at a special table and at others, liveries of bread and beer were provided. Pensions were granted to officers on their retirement and on occasion to their widows, with special payments to children in need.<sup>30</sup> If tips and benefits in kind which are impossible to quantify are ignored, it is possible to assess the income for the Gentleman of the Ewery. Toward the end of the seventeenth century this was of the order of £120 which Gregory King in 1688 estimated to be the family income for 'persons in lesser offices'. His lower category of Gentleman had an estimated annual income or expenses per family of £100, along with the lowest category of Merchant and the highest Master Manufacturer.<sup>31</sup>

<sup>28</sup> LS13/56, 10v.

<sup>29</sup> PRO LC5/196, 'The Names of the Offices and Officers Lodged in Whitehall, May: 1691', included

Ewry Office	At the end of the Paved Passage: 2: roomes
Serjt of the Ewry	room
Mr Berry	One room under the Messengers.
[Yeoman of the Ewry]	

LS13/82, In George III's reign, the Gentleman had a house in Dukes Court, St James's, whilst the Yeoman had an apartment over the Greencloth.

<sup>30</sup> LS13/173, 58, 1685. Pensions for Robert Hope's daughters. Also see LS1/89 Coquina.

<sup>31</sup> Mathias (1979), 171-189. Using the Lord Steward's records, the incomes of the Ewery officers can be calculated, although gratuities and benefits in kind are not included.

A. Burley Fenn, Gentleman of the Ewery, 1686/87

			£	s.	d.
LS13/38	Salary (in lieu of wages and board wages)		60	0	0
	Rideing wages			nil	
LS13/38	Sweets & Waters -	assume 20% profit on £150 fee	30	0	0
LS1/30 & LS8/23	Making & Marking -	assume 20% profit on three payments totalling £80.4.0	16	0	10
LS8/25	Condemned Linen -	linen was condemned in Jan 1687 for 2-year period. Assume linen was sold at 1/5th of cost and that Fenn received 60%, £189.10.0 i.e. £189.10.0 x 1/5 x 3/5 ÷ 2		11	7 5
			<u>£117</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>3</u>

b) *The Ewery office*

There were ewery offices, generally one or two rooms, in each of the royal palaces. They were equipped with presses (cupboards) and trunks, each dedicated to linen for particular tables or for a special use.<sup>32</sup> This storage system simplified the control of linen both to the tables and from the Laundry, especially as individual ewery officers were responsible for particular tables and financially liable for any losses.

The principal office during the seventeenth century was at Whitehall, in a range of buildings on the river near to Whitehall steps.<sup>33</sup> It was damp, and in 1669 the Greencloth wrote to the Surveyor General, Christopher Wren, asking him to build a chimney and to provide new presses or cupboards to store the linen. Apart from the presses, the Ewery was equipped with several large chests to store or transport linen for particular tables. There was also 'one Large Spanish Table to put on the Lynnen when brought from the Laundresses' which could be folded away at other times and 'a Rayle & turned pinns to hand y<sup>e</sup> foule Lynen'.<sup>34</sup> New trunks were regularly supplied to the office, covered in either black leather or sealskin, along with hampers and baskets.<sup>35</sup> Sumpter trunks, to be carried by horse or mule were also purchased, including eight in Holland during the expedition of 1697.<sup>36</sup>

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B. James Tower, Yeoman of the Ewery, 1755/56

LS13/46	Wages		5	0	0
"	Boardwages		45	0	0
LS8/95	Travelling charges -	13 no. totalling	28	8	6
LS1/101	Making & Marking -	assume 20% on a payment of £63.9.0	12	13	10
LS1/102	Condemned Linen -	linen was condemned in 1757 for 2-year period. Assume linen was sold at 1/5th of cost and that Towers received 30%, i.e. £1860.7.0 x 1/5 x 3/10 ÷ 2	55	16	1
			<u>£146</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>5</u>

C. William Jewist, Gentleman of the Ewery, 1761

LS1/52	Salary	200	0	0
"	Allowances	<u>nil</u>		
		£200	0	0

32 The system of assigning particular presses in the Ewery to linen for particular tables was probably commonplace in princely households. It pertained in France as is shown by the splendid drawing of the presses in the *Garde-Meuble* at Versailles in 1787: see *Versailles* (1993), 126.

33 Colvin (1976), V, plate 36.

34 LS1/11 & /12; Scuttill. For 'Spanish tables', see Thornton (1978), 228 & 303.

35 Large trunks cost about 35s each, LS8/41 & LS1/2. The 'guilt red coffers to carrie lynnen' ordered for James I cost £4.10.0 each, LS13/280, 256v. When travelling, the trunks were covered with 'bearskins', possibly the 'bare hides of oxeleather' purchased with James I's coffers.

36 LS8/34, 163.



Among the nobility and gentry, few households were large enough to merit a separate Ewery, the linen being kept in presses or trunks in one of the other offices, often the Buttery.<sup>37</sup> In the royal household, although the Table Laundry was run by a woman from at least Henry VIII's reign, the Ewery remained completely male. In contrast, in noble households women began to assume responsibility for linen during the sixteenth century. Thus at Kenninghall on the Duke of Norfolk's attainder in 1572, most of the napery was in the hands of Richard Bryan, Yeoman of the Ewery, but some in 'the charge of Mrs Mabel Preston, one of the La. Surreyes women'.<sup>38</sup> At Kenilworth Castle, the Earl of Leicester's napery in 1583 was wholly in the charge of Anne Kynge widow, whereas at Chenies at the same time, the best linen was either in 'my Ladys' standard and coffer', or in 'Mistris Ewsters chardge'.<sup>39</sup> Among the gentry and merchants, the responsibility for fine napery was largely that of the mistress of the house.

Sweet bags were laid in presses and chests that the linen be 'kept sweet'. In the sixteenth century these were made of taffeta or sarsenet and were filled with 'sweet powder', or pot-pourri.<sup>40</sup> In the Restoration royal household, the bags were made of silk or 'crimson taffety' edged with 'silke galloonn'.<sup>41</sup> There are several contemporary recipes for 'sweet powder' and it seems that the Ewery used different sorts, as the prices paid ranged from 2s 6d to 8s per lb.<sup>42</sup> Orange flower water and rosewater to fill the ewers for washing hands were stored in 'large stone bottles'.<sup>43</sup> Although there were English recipes for perfumed waters, quantities of orange flower water were imported from the Mediterranean.<sup>44</sup> Their supply to the Household was included in the Grocer's Contract, typical costs being 16s per gallon for orange flower water and 8s per gallon for rosewater.<sup>45</sup> By the late seventeenth century, these waters seem only to have been used for the King's table and for visitors such as the Prince of Orange who was allowed a pint of orange flower water a day during his visit in 1670.<sup>46</sup>

37 Cardinal Wolsey had a separate Ewery as did the Duke of Norfolk at Kenninghall in 1546, PRO LR 115, 45. Lord La Warre's napery was kept in a coffer in the Gallery or in the Buttery, 1554 LA WARRE. William Knyvett Esq kept his linen in a 'syper cheste' and a 'great Flaunders cheste' 1557 KNYVETT. Richard Brereton, Gentleman also had a 'Flaunders Cheste' for his napery, 1558 BRERETON.

38 PRO SP12/81. Lady Surrey was Norfolk's daughter-in-law.

39 1583 LEICESTER, 1585 BEDFORD.

40 1575 PARKER, 1581 WILSON, 1583 LEICESTER. Lavender bags were sometimes used. 1566 WORSLEY.

41 LS1/11, Scutill.

42 Recipes in Smith (1753)\*, 235, and Price (1681)\*, 315. Sweets at 8s in 1670, LS8/7, 116v; at 2s 6d in 1703, LS8/41, 114.

43 LS8/27, 26, 'for vj large stone bottles at 3s 6d pce to put ye oyle, Rose Water & Orange Flower Water in'. From the quantities of oil and waters purchased, the bottles each had a capacity of at least 3 gallons. Presumably these were salt-glazed stoneware bottles with handles on their necks which survive from this period in some numbers. They were made, possibly in London, in several sizes and were sometimes marked with impressed numbers. See Hildyard (1985).

44 The London Port Books contain many entries for orange flower water from Smyrna, Livorno, etc.

45 LS13/21, 1702. Contract with Peter Lavigne Her Maties Grocer.

46 LS8/7, 82v.

The gentry also laid sweet bags between their linen, for the accounts books of both Henry Best of Elmswell and Sir Francis Throckmorton have entries for the purchase of sweet powder.<sup>47</sup> Rebecca Price, a gentlewoman from Buckinghamshire included in her 'Receipt Book' of 1681, two recipes for 'Sweet water to Wash with' as well as a 'pouder for sweet-baggs'.<sup>48</sup> It is significant that in *The Compleat Housewife*, first published in 1727, the many receipts for waters are either for cordials or medicines but none 'to wash with'.<sup>49</sup> Before the victory of the fork, Giles Moore, Rector of Horsted Keynes, Sussex recorded in his journal for 11 July 1675,

I sent Mistresse Michelborne [the widow of his Patron] a galon of rose water, and 1 quart of damasks, shee sending mee back by the messenger 3 dozen of piegons.<sup>50</sup>

#### 8.4 CARE: MAKING, MARKING AND MENDING

##### a) Making

Until the seventeenth century when 'suits' of damask and diaper could be bought, fine napery was often purchased by the loom piece some 35 yards in length. These were cut into tablecloth, towel and napkin lengths, hemmed, marked and then washed before use. Even the 'suits' required such conversion as they contained pieces to produce a dozen napkins. It appears that Sletia diaper was first marketed in these suits, presumably as a convenience to attract new clients from among the middling sort.<sup>51</sup>

Tablecloths and napkins were generally plain hemmed but in the sixteenth century drawn thread and pulled fabric work hems were sometimes used (Ill. 8.2). In England these decorative hems are rarely found on seventeenth-century pieces but occur on napery belonging to Dutch families into the early eighteenth century. Although few napery examples survive, contemporary paintings and tapestries indicate that diaper and damask tablecloths from the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries were decorated both with lines of embroidery and fringes. It is likely that some of these decorative bands were not embroidered but woven, using a pattern weft in addition to the weft that formed the ground

47 Best (1857)\* '25 July 1617. Taken with us into Yorkshire . . . Rose Water, 3 quartes, at 8d per pint 4s; . . . Sweete Powder 6 oz, 1s 6d.

Barnard (1944), 65, 1659, 3 lbs of damask powder and the making of the sweet bags 14s.

48 Price (1681)\*, 315-316.

49 Smith (1753)\*, 255-278.

50 Blencowe (1848)\*, 120.

51 Thorold Rogers (1963), 1635 Eton, 'Suit Diaper' at 50s; 1638 Eton, 'Suit Diaper' at 56s, 1671 Eton, 'Suit of Sleasy Diaper' 56s etc.

J.F. (1696)\*, 11 states

Sleasie-Diaper . . . they are in suits . . . the finest of all is twelve yards in a Piece of Tabling and to every Piece of this Tabling, there is two Pieces of this Napkins to compleat a sute . . . the whole sute is generally sold . . . for three Pound ten.

weave.<sup>52</sup> This was the technique used to produce the so called 'Perugia' towels which often have blue cotton supplementary wefts. Some of these are believed to date from the fourteenth century (Ill. 8.3).<sup>53</sup> (Similarly decorated twills were woven in southern Germany in the sixteenth century with brown, buff and white supplementary wefts in addition to blue.<sup>54</sup>) There are references in English inventories to diaper towels and napkins with blue stripes, although it is unclear whether these were plain or contained the heraldic beasts of 'Perugia' towels.<sup>55</sup> As such references are particularly common in late fifteenth century London inventories, the napery could well have been woven in Umbria and imported from Italy on the galley fleet, which at that time called at Southampton and London, on its way to and from Antwerp.<sup>56</sup> In the sixteenth century, the references are largely confined to the extensive inventories belonging to such men as the Duke of Norfolk, Dr Wilson, one of Queen Elizabeth's principal secretaries, and Sir Thomas Offley.<sup>57</sup> In 1583, the Earl of Leicester had four dozen and three diaper napkins 'striped thendes with blew almost worne out' which were 'half a yarde and a naile' in width. This is equivalent to 51.5 cm, which is a similar width to several of the 'Perugia' towels in the Victoria & Albert Museum.<sup>58</sup>

As well as decorative blue stripes, there were references to fringes and lace edgings. Many of these related to coverpanes which were commonly decorated with both embroidery and lace. A few of the coverpanes together with several other cloths are described as 'of Spanish work' or 'wrought with Spanish stitch'. The author has suggested elsewhere that these descriptions may refer to linens, similar to several pieces in the Victoria & Albert Museum, which have inserted bands of tied double weave in red silk and white linen with additional embroidered decoration in a double-sided running stitch (Ill. 8.4).<sup>59</sup> In the seventeenth century there are occasional references to laced cloths, together with 'wrought', 'sticht' and 'laidworke' napkins.<sup>60</sup> After the Restoration some Sletia diaper and damask was sold 'fringed' or 'shagged'.<sup>61</sup> In contrast to napkins finished with bands of expensive lace, these fringed napkins were cheap: among the merchant Peter van Sittart's trade goods in 1706, were 680 dozen fringed napkins at 5s 6d per dozen.

52 For technique, see Burnham (1981), 184.

53 The V & A has a fine collection of these fabrics, as yet unpublished. For those in Brussels, refer to Errera (1927), 79-83. For technique and dating, see *Il patrimonio tessile antico* (1986).

54 Meyer-Heisig (1956), 24-27.

55 1486 SKYRWYTH, 'a towell diap. wt Blak mylynges'; 1488 MORTON, both 'bordclothes' and napkins of diaper 'with blew mylynges'; 1489 WARDLEY, 2 dozen napkins of diaper 'wt blew mylynes'.

56 Platt (1973), 152-164.

57 1572 NORFOLK, 1581 WILSON, 1583 OFFLEY.

58 V & A, Inv. no. 481-1884, 52.1 cm wide; 910-1883, 53 cm; 482-1884, 54 cm.

59 Mitchell (1998A).

60 For laced cloths see 1637 WILLIAMS, 1693 LENEVE, 1704 THOMAS. There is a napkin in the V & A, 8648-1863, with fine lace ends. For embroidered napkins see 1637 WILLIAMS, 1637 GARDNER, 1667 PHILLIPS.

61 1664 HALL, 1706 VANSITTART, 1722 BLACKALL, 1724 BYRON.

b) *Marking and mending*

Linen was often embroidered simply with an ownership mark and identifying number. In larger households with extensive holdings of linen and problems of control, further marks were added. The marks sometimes indicated the house to which it was assigned, the particular table where it was to be used or its date of purchase. These marks were necessary to keep track of the linen between the tables, the office where it was stored, and the laundry. The date of purchase gave an indication of the rate of wear as well as additional identification. These marks were also used in the preparation of inventories.

In the late fifteenth century, Londoners' table linen was often identified by number. That of Thomas Gylbert, a draper, was typical with his five diaper tablecloths and four diaper towels all listed in a similar way: 'Itm j tabyll Clothe of Dyaper w<sup>t</sup> Crosse Dyamondes vij yardes long w<sup>t</sup> mke 1'.<sup>62</sup> The lack of mention of marks in an inventory, however, did not necessarily imply their absence, for in Cardinal Wolsey's huge working inventory the only reference to marks is to, 'an olde clothe without mke of small damaske floures'.<sup>63</sup> In later periods numbers could indicate the quantity, for example 72, indicating 6 dozen napkins of the same design.

The method of marking in the English royal household is clear from the Restoration and is likely to have been similar at earlier periods. The normal marks were a crown and the sovereign's initial: for example, C R for Carolus Rex. Additional marks were sometimes added, either to denote the table where it was used, such as L<sup>a</sup>, for Ladies of the Bedchamber and M, for Maids of Honour, or to indicate its age, O S, for old stock retained after a 'condemnation' (the annual inspection).<sup>64</sup> A Greencloth minute in 1662 shows that an effort was made to achieve uniformity, 'to see them marked with the crowne and the letters C & R according to the sample and of the same colour that was this day presented to the board'.<sup>65</sup>

Linen provided for important guests was marked with their own insignia, such as the three crowns for the Prince of Hanover in 1682.<sup>66</sup> These marks were unpicked after their departure, the linen re-marked and laid up in the 'extraordinary' store.<sup>67</sup> The Gentleman of the Ewery was paid standard rates for making and marking tablecloths and napkins; in turn he subcontracted the work, presumably with profit.

<sup>62</sup> 1484 GYLBERT.

<sup>63</sup> 1516 WOLSEY, 78v.

<sup>64</sup> LS1/74 & /5, LS13/116, 27 Instructions (1729) for marking linen with La, M and W for women of the Bedchamber. For O S refer to LS1/76 and LS13/116, 327 (1731).

<sup>65</sup> LS13/170, 196. In France, the table linen of *Le Grand-Meuble* was marked with a crown plus VV to indicate Versailles, VVT for the Trianon, etc. Prinnet (1982), 153. Sophisticated marking was also used in the Low Countries and Scandinavia, Burgers (1987), 155; Fischer (1989); Wieth-Knudsen (1989).

<sup>66</sup> LS1/24.

<sup>67</sup> LS1/48 & /50.

Apart from the royal household, English ownership marks took the form either of simple initials of the owner's Christian name and surname or a triangle of the surname initial surmounting the Christian name initials of both husband and wife. From the seventeenth century, noble families surmounted their initials with an appropriate coronet. London livery companies sometimes used symbols of their craft: the lily pot of the Pewterers and the 'Tonnes' or wine barrels of the Vintners.<sup>68</sup> The thread and stitches used to embroider these initials varied both with time and place. In the sixteenth century, linen thread was used, often in blue, and this remained popular into the eighteenth century. The best blue was Coventry thread which was 'so fixed as not to fade'.<sup>69</sup> In 1620, Howard of Naworth purchased 'Coventre blue to marke napkins' and it was listed among the stocks of several mercers.<sup>70</sup> However, by this time the thread may not have come from Coventry, for the town complained that thread was being dyed in other towns but sold, to their detriment, as 'Coventry blue'.<sup>71</sup> White linen thread was also used in the sixteenth century particularly when initials were worked in eyelet hole stitch (Ill. 8.5).

Unusually, the Earl of Bedford's inventory of 1585 listed a number of marks. These were mostly upper and lower case combinations of F, B and B for Francis and Bridget Bedford, although there were other initials, perhaps for previous owners or indicating their use, such as S for 'Stewardest clothes'. A tablecloth was marked 'Fb llethole' and sheets and pillowberes were marked in 'Ilethole', 'starre worke', 'bredd stitche' and 'spanishe stitche'. Several napkins in the Abegg-Stiftung from this period have a mark 'gb' embroidered in blue linen thread with a double running stitch - perhaps the 'spanishe stitche' of the Bedford inventory (Ill. 8.6). During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries cross stitch was generally used for ownership marks in England (Ill. 8.7).<sup>72</sup>

In the seventeenth century, royal household linen was marked with 'silk in graine': silk dyed red with cochineal. Although silk was used in other households, blue linen remained popular; Lady Ossulton listed among her linen in 1686, 'i douz. of diaper market w<sup>th</sup> Blew O [with a coronet drawn above] & 11'.<sup>73</sup> (In Scotland, in the eighteenth century marks were often embroidered in buff silk and placed, not in the corners, but in the middle of the short sides of the cloth.) Girls learnt the design of the initials and their stitches by embroidering samplers, as a part of their education.<sup>74</sup> In the Low Countries and sometimes in England, girls also worked darning-samplers, to practise the techniques of

68 Guildhall 7110, Pewterers' Co., 7, 1515, 'Napkyns markt wt lili pot'.

Guildhall 15333/1, Vintners' Co., 445, Accompte 1562-64, 'and marked wth three blew Tonnes'.

69 VCH, Warwickshire, 2 (1908), 215.

70 1589 WRAY, 1617 MARKLAND.

71 Phythian-Adams (1979), 41 note 6. Berger (1993), 67-72.

72 In the Low Countries, ownership marks in eyelet hole stitch in white linen thread combined with satin stitch date marks continued to be used into the eighteenth century.

73 PRO C104/82, Brown leather notebook.

74 See King (1960), Colby (1964), Tarrant (1978), Humphrey (1997).

mending holes of varying sizes and in different fabrics. These included reproducing diaper and even small damask patterns with the needle (Ill. 8.8).<sup>75</sup> The quality of repairs on surviving English-owned damasks varies greatly, but some of the sixteenth century pieces which were clearly greatly treasured, have a number of skilfully worked darns.

## 8.5 CARE: LAUNDRY

### a) Organisation

During the sixteenth century the Laundry together with the Dairy were the only offices in large households that were run by women. Similarly, in gentry and merchant households laundresses and laundry maids were directed by the mistress of the house.

In the reigns of Henry VI and Edward IV, the royal laundry was administered by a yeoman officer with a male staff. However, during Henry VIII's reign, if not before, the sovereign's personal napery was in the hands of a woman, attested by the contract let to 'Anne Harris the King's Laundresse' in 1542. Under Elizabeth, the Table Laundress was personally responsible for the Queen's table and was assisted by two yeomen, two grooms and two pages, who washed the napery for the chamber and household.<sup>76</sup>

In the seventeenth century, there were several laundries that washed various categories of linen: 'for the body' - linen apparel, principally shirts and shifts; 'for the table' - linen from the principal tables at court; and 'for the household' - napery from the minor tables, linen from the various offices below stairs, and sheets and pillowberes. Laundresses were appointed by warrant and paid by contract with the Board of Greencloth. During Charles II's and James II's reigns, the contracts with the Table Laundress specified the linen to be washed and a daily rate of payments, with extraordinary payments made at so much an article for cloths and napkins washed after special entertainments. Under William and Mary, the Laundress was paid at a yearly rate for particular tables as specified in the 'Establishment'. Thus in the year from October 1692, Jane Potter was paid to launder the table linen for the King and Queen's tables £200, for the Gentlemen Waiters, Grooms of the Bedchamber and Maids of Honour £207.4.0 with a sum of £30 for the hire of a laundry.<sup>77</sup>

On Queen Anne's accession, the system was changed. The contracts then specified rates per tablecloth and per dozen napkins, and detailed monthly bills were submitted. In 1702, the Laundress was paid 8d per damask or diaper tablecloth and 8d per dozen napkins. In July 1712, owing to the extra duty on soap these prices were both increased to 9d, but

<sup>75</sup> Schipper-van Lottum (1987).

<sup>76</sup> Nichols (1790)\*, Henry VI, 22; Edward IV, 85; Henry VIII, 215; Elizabeth, 252 & 287. LS13/168, 401, 1618, 42 laundresses and their maids on the King's side.

<sup>77</sup> LS1/36; 'Gardrob'.

from November 1716 reverted to 8d. In October 1739, the prices were increased to 10d, where they stayed until 1760.<sup>78</sup> The Table Laundry was a considerable operation and a number of servants must have been employed. In the year October 1704 to September 1705, Jane Gunthorpe was paid £341 for washing 6,268 tablecloths and 4,154 dozen napkins, equivalent to a weekly average of some 120 tablecloths and 80 dozen napkins.<sup>79</sup> During George II's reign the quantity was even greater, with weekly averages in the order of 300 tablecloths and 270 dozen napkins and an annual payment to the Laundress of £1,235.<sup>80</sup>

Like the Gentlemen of the Ewery, the length of service of the Table Laundresses is striking with just eight Laundresses for the King's Table between 1663 and 1760. Two of them served for more than twenty-five years, Jane Gunthorpe from 1702 to 1727, and Dorothy Phillips from 1727 to 1755.

It is impossible to know the profit the Table Laundress made from the yearly laundry payments, but from 1702 she was paid a board wage of £100 p.a. with riding wages and travelling allowances at twice the daily rate of the Gentleman of the Ewery. Jane Gunthorpe, the Table Laundress who was married to George Gunthorpe, Yeoman of the Confectionery, would comfortably fit into Gregory King's category 'Persons in Greater Offices', with an annual family income of £240. This is a far cry from the Earl of Ailesbury's laundry maid Susan who was paid 'a quarters wages when she went away' of £1 in 1676.<sup>81</sup> The Earl was typical in directly employing laundry staff, although the gentry sometimes used daily labour or sent their laundry out. In 1659, Sir Francis Throckmorton's laundry was undertaken by a woman who came in from the village several days every week, sometimes accompanied by another woman 'that did char'.<sup>82</sup> In Henry Best of Elmswell's account book is a long list of linen 'given out to be washed' in 1646.<sup>83</sup>

#### *b) Laundry rooms*

Laundering consists of three basic operations; washing, drying and ironing. Sometimes all three operations took place in the same room, but they were generally split. The laundries in the royal household were of necessity large, Henry VIII's laundry in the outer court of Eltham Palace consisting of four rooms, two with enormous fireplaces.<sup>84</sup> Early in the seventeenth century a house was leased for the laundry 'in the vine garden at Westminster' and a drying ground, 'lying neere Tuttlefieldes for drying of all his Maties Napery used in the Office of ye Ewery'.<sup>85</sup> In 1691 'the Queens Laundress', possibly the

<sup>78</sup> LS1/46, /55, /61 & /85; 'Gardrob'.

<sup>79</sup> LS1/48. 'Gardrob'.

<sup>80</sup> LS1/87 to /104 & LS8/80 to /85. 'Gardrob'.

<sup>81</sup> Cardigan (1952)\*, 119.

<sup>82</sup> Barnard (1944), 69. Also see Munby (1986)\*, 193.

<sup>83</sup> Best (1857)\*, 161.

<sup>84</sup> Thurley (1993), 75.

<sup>85</sup> LS13/168, Contracts: 423 & 446.

Table Laundress, was assigned four rooms and two garrets behind the Guard House at Whitehall.<sup>86</sup> At this period the Table Laundry moved with the King, and payments were made for the weekly hire of a laundry when the court was at both Newmarket and Windsor.<sup>87</sup> From about 1724, the linen was carried to a central laundry in Westminster, by water from Windsor and Hampton Court, and by road from Kensington, with extra payments for 'turn pikes' being recorded in the middle of the century.<sup>88</sup>

There are a number of gentry houses with laundries from the seventeenth century such as Aston Hall, Warwickshire and from the eighteenth century, Beningbrough Hall in North Yorkshire and Erdigg in North Wales. Unfortunately, they have all been altered or re-equipped.<sup>89</sup> At Beningbrough, the restored nineteenth-century laundry is contained in one large room but at Erdigg there are separate wet and dry laundries, which seems to have been the usual arrangement. At Aston Hall, there were three rooms: the wash house, the drying room and the laundry where the ironing was done. The houses of wealthy Londoners had wash houses opening into a yard at ground level, with a drying or ironing room in the garrets.

*c) Washing: methods and equipment*

Although account books give the prices of soap and ashes, and diaries male reactions to washday - 'and so home, where I find my wife all alone at work and the house foul, it being washing day' - they miss the subtleties of the washerwoman's skill.<sup>90</sup> Napery always seems to have been washed regularly but in addition could be subjected to 'a great drive' or 'bucking' in the spring. This was in effect a bleaching to remove the stains and rust spots caused by damp storage conditions through the winter.

Edward IV's Black Book of 1472 required that 'table clothes and towelles should be chaunged twyes every weeke at the leste; more if neede require'. In Henry VIII's reign they were changed at least daily, if not at every meal, for the Laundress's contract included the clause,

Furthermore, the said Anne shall not faile dayly, upon deliverie of the said cleane stuff, to take with her the stuff which was occupied the day before, to wash again . . .<sup>91</sup>

The contract required a weekly wash which apparently pertained in the royal household for the rest of the sixteenth and throughout the seventeenth century.

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<sup>86</sup> LC5/196, 3v.

<sup>87</sup> LS8/10, /17, /18.

<sup>88</sup> LS8/94, 94v.

<sup>89</sup> Fairclough (1984), 94. Jackson-Stops (1980), 34. Waterson (1980), 103-4.

<sup>90</sup> Latham & Matthews (1974)\*, IV, 65.

<sup>91</sup> Nichols (1790)\*, 85 & 215.



Clean linen and regular washing were claimed by the Tudor commentator, William Harrison, as features of English life,

Our inns are also very well furnished with napery, bedding, and tapestry, especially with napery; for beside the linen used at the tables, which is commonly washed [i.e. changed] daily, is such and so much as belongeth unto the estate and calling of each guest. Each comer is sure to lie in clean sheets.<sup>92</sup>

In Restoration London according to the economic commentator John Houghton, 'they wash once a Month'.<sup>93</sup> Elizabeth Pepys washed at this interval or a little longer. Washday was always a Monday and was a major undertaking, starting before dawn and continuing late into the night. Samuel records both with some vexation,

Waked this morning by 4 a-clock by my wife, to call the maids to their wash . . . though . . . vexation for the lazy sluts lying so long against their great wash, neither my wife nor I could sleep one winke after that time till day.

And thence home, where I found my wife and maid a-washing. I sat up till the bell-man came by with his bell just under my window as I was writing of this very line and cried, 'Past one of the clock, and a cold, frosty, windy morning'. I then went to bed and left my wife and the maid a-washing still.<sup>94</sup>

Washing techniques varied with time and place, as well as with personal preference and prejudice. The Black Book specified that ashes as well as white, grey and black soap be provided for the 'Lavendry'. But there is no indication as to how a lye prepared with ashes was used in conjunction with soap. In Anne Harris's contract of 1542 only soap is mentioned, but the necessities allowed to the royal Laundress in 1607 included both ashes and soap. From the Restoration, it seems that the regular wash was done solely 'with the best soap'. At least once a year some of the store of napery was bleached. The drying of linen indoors during the winter with charcoal braziers, and the intermittent use of the extraordinary store of linen, coupled with the damp conditions found both on campaign and in the Ewery offices provided the ideal environment for rust and mildew.<sup>95</sup> Susanna Jennings, the Table Laundress was paid in the spring of 1683 at Windsor for 'whiteing & taking out stains' from 80 tablecloths and 40 dozen napkins.<sup>96</sup> For such a bleach a lye

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<sup>92</sup> Harrison (1587)\*, 397.

<sup>93</sup> John Houghton, *Coll. for improvement of husbandry and trade*, 15 Feb. 1695 quoted in Latham & Matthews (1974)\*, I, 19, note 4.

<sup>94</sup> Latham & Matthews (1974)\*, V, 11 & 55, Washing on 11th Jan. followed by 22 Feb. 1664, i.e. six weeks. Quotes for 11 Jan. 1664, V, 11 and 16 Jan. 1660, I, 19.

<sup>95</sup> LS8/14, 'for charcoales ... to ayre the kings Linnen at Windsor the Ewry Office being very damp'. For the hire of a 'Bleech' when the Laundress was with the army in the Low Countries, see LS8/35, 5, LS8/36, 9.

<sup>96</sup> LS8/20.

made from wood ashes was used, as well as soap. The Laundress was also paid on occasion for removing persistent stains from the napery such as 'for taking out Chacolett spotts & staines out of the Linnen'.<sup>97</sup> There are a number of 'receipts' for making lyes and methods of removing spots and mildews in contemporary cookery books.<sup>98</sup>

In London in August 1667 and again in 1668, Elizabeth Pepys went with her maids 'over the water to the Whitsters': to a bleach in Southwark or Lambeth. Facilities were hired but the work plainly remained in the hands of Mrs Pepys and her maids, for the diarist records both her absences over three days and her return on Tuesday at '9 at night'.<sup>99</sup> Among the county gentry, the accounts of Howard of Naworth in the 1620s and those of Sarah Fell of Swarthmoor Hall in the 1670s, list purchases of soap, starch, and bucking ashes.<sup>100</sup> Timothy Burrell, Esq noted in his journal in October 1700 a 'bucking' which he illustrated with a charming sketch of a washerwoman at a bucking tub. In his 'memo' he writes 'I washed in soap; bought blew ls'. There was no mention of ashes.<sup>101</sup> Although in 1760 Hannah Glass gave instructions to prepare a lye, she apparently did not approve its use for she wrote,

Different Countries and different Places have all a different maner or way of preparing for a great Wash. In some places they buck their Clothes, which I do not understand, neither is it needful in London, nor is their Running-Water and Crystal-Streams for that use.<sup>102</sup>

In the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, wash houses were equipped with a range of bucking vats and tubs, washing and rinsing bowls, pails and scoops, together with copper or brass kettles, battledores or washing beetles, and an assortment of baskets.<sup>103</sup> A full range of such equipment for the household of the Prince of Wales in 1607 is listed in the Lord Steward's records.<sup>104</sup> In Restoration London, apart from wash tubs and other paraphernalia, the larger houses had 'a copper furnace' or 'a copper fixt with lead and ironwork' for the supply of hot water.<sup>105</sup>

#### *d) Drying and pressing: methods and equipment*

Washing was dried by hanging it on hair lines or laying it on the ground. In the 'Agas' map of Elizabethan London, washing is shown drying on the grass in St Martin's Field, Moorfields and Little Tower Hill.<sup>106</sup> It was also draped over hedges.<sup>107</sup> Two of

<sup>97</sup> LS8/14, LS8/16.

<sup>98</sup> Glass (1760)\*, 42 & 46. Smith (1753)\*, 372.

<sup>99</sup> Latham & Matthews (1974)\*, 8/383-6; 9/253.

<sup>100</sup> Howard (1878)\*, Penny (1920)\*.

<sup>101</sup> Blencowe (1850)\*, 136.

<sup>102</sup> Glass, (1760)\*, 46.

<sup>103</sup> Including 1497 BROMER, 1532 GUILDFORD, 1575 PARKER.

<sup>104</sup> LS13/180, 296.

<sup>105</sup> More than 50% of the Orphans' Court inventories in the sample have such coppers.

<sup>106</sup> Prockter & Taylor (1979)\*.

<sup>107</sup> 1569 WEST, includes linen, 'In the garden hangynge uppon the hedg to drye'.

Shakespeare's heroic rogues refer to the practice. In *The Winter's Tale*, Autolycus - a snapper-up of unconsidered trifles - sings of 'the white sheet bleaching on the hedge' and warns 'my traffic is sheets; when the kite builds, look to lesser linen'. Sir John Falstaff commenting on the apparel of his ragged company concludes, 'but that's all one; they'll find linen enough on every hedge'.<sup>108</sup>

For drying indoors, hair lines, wooden clothes horses and rods in a frame hung from the ceiling were used. In the Low Countries, when almost dry, cloths were folded lengthwise and passed through a mangle. They were then folded transversely and put between the boards of a tablecloth or napkin press. In the royal household, however, it appears that napery was simply ironed, as there were payments for ironing cloths but no mention of mangles or presses; this was probably owing to the volume of laundry. It is necessary to leave napkins in a press for two or three days, and although each press had several leaves, to launder some 80 dozen napkins a week would require some 25 napkin presses. In London inventories there were regular entries for irons, mostly smoothing irons until about 1675 and thereafter box irons with heaters. Napkin presses, sometimes equipped with drawers, were also common, but within the sample there were neither tablecloth presses nor mangles (Ill.8.9).<sup>109</sup>

London houses had garret drying rooms with equipment very similar to that found in seventeenth-century Dutch doll's houses (Ill. 8.10).<sup>110</sup> The eighteenth-century example in Haarlem illustrates certain differences, for it contains a box mangle and a tablecloth press (Ill. 8.11). Although not found in London, box mangles were used in English country houses from the eighteenth century. For example at Aston Hall, Heneage Legge installed a box mangle for the drying room late in the century whereas the surviving examples at both Beningbrough Hall and Erdigg date from the nineteenth century (Ill. 8.12).

Starch is said to have been introduced into England in the middle of the sixteenth century but seems only to have been used for linen apparel until the next century. Within the royal household the 'Landr. for the bodie' was provided with starch in 1607, but not the Table Laundress.<sup>111</sup> From 1662, it was included among the latter's necessities in the Establish-

<sup>108</sup> *The Winter's Tale*, Act 4, scene 2 & *Henry IV*, Pt. 1, Act 4, Scene 2.

<sup>109</sup> It is difficult to know when the screw press was first used in England. 1566 WORSLEY had a 'a presse with four leaves' and 1581 WILSON 'A presse for napkins'. 1623 MANNE had two napkin presses. There was a 'skrew presse for napkins' in the Buttery at Hatfield Priory in 1629. Thornton (1978), 393, note 30.

<sup>110</sup> 1706 VANSITTART, 'Ironing Room & Gallery' included 1 stove, shovell, tongs and fender; 3 box irons and heaters, 1 napkin press, 2 horses for clothes, 1 table, etc. 1723 HEYSHAM, 'Lanry' included 1 long counter chest, 1 large oval table, a wainscot leaf, horse for clothes, 31 poles 4 yds long to dry cloths, 2 end pieces, shovel, tongs, poker, fender, a pair of bellows, 3 box irons, 6 heaters, 3 stands [for irons], 5 baskets for cloths and a long step-ladder. There was a napkin press in 'the Servants Hall & Butlers Room'. Pijzel-Dommise (1980), (1987) & (1994).

<sup>111</sup> LS13/280, 296v.

ment book. None the less, it is unlikely that all, or in fact the majority of cloths were starched. It was probably only napkins to be pinched or folded into exotic shapes that were regularly starched.

## 8.6 RATE OF CONSUMPTION

To assess the rate of consumption of napery, it is necessary to have records of losses and the rejection of old, worn-out cloths. Fortunately, between 1685 and 1760, the Comptroller's books of the royal household give this information in the 'Charges', or inventories of table linen. That for 'Irish Linnen' of 1740/41 exhibits the typical format (Ill. 8.13): it starts with the previous 'Charge', adds the newly made linen and then subtracts that either lost through theft and accident, or condemned as unsuitable for use, to give a new 'Charge' or 'Remain'. These 'Charges' enable the average stock to be calculated as well as separate totals of the linen purchased, lost and condemned. This data coupled with the monthly laundry bills enables an estimate to be made of the rate of 'wear'.

The annual amount of table linen either lost or condemned depended upon several factors: the audacity and skill of the light-fingered; the frequency of foreign travel; the quality of care exercised by the Ewery and the Laundry; the size of the household and, in particular, the number of tables provided for the royal family. The rate of consumption was always considerable: for example, between 1685 and 1688 (James II) a yearly average of 98 damask and diaper tablecloths and 73 dozen napkins; between 1727 and 1741 (George II) 283 tablecloths and 273 dozen napkins (Table 8.6).

TABLE 8.6 'RATE OF CONSUMPTION'. TABLE LINEN CONDEMNED AND LOST: YEARLY MEANS

REIGN/ DATES	DAMASK		DIAPER		TOTAL	
	Tablecloths (No.)	Napkins (Doz.)	Tablecloths (No.)	Napkins (Doz.)	Tablecloths (No.)	Napkins (Doz.)
JAMES II 1685-88	26	41	72	32	98	73
WILLIAM & MARY 1689-1702	21	40	74	42	95	82
ANNE 1702-14	34	42	99	66	133	108
GEORGE I 1714-27	21	39	93	82	114	121
GEORGE II <sup>a</sup> 1727-41	88	121	195	152	283	273
GEORGE II <sup>b</sup> 1741-60	-	-	-	-	267	305

*Notes*

- a Up to 1737, all damask and diaper was purchased from the Low Countries and called 'Dutch' in the Lord Steward's records. Cloth condemned or lost up to 1741 is thus overwhelmingly 'Dutch'.
- b From 1737, all damask and diaper was from Ireland but it was termed 'Irish diaper' even if it was woven with the royal arms. It is, therefore, impossible to separate damask from diaper.

The marked difference between the rates of consumption of George II and his predecessors, resulted from the size of his immediate family. In the reigns of James II, and William and Mary, the Establishment books provided for a table for the King and another for the Queen. After Mary's death in 1694, only one table was required. For Anne and George I a single table was provided but for George II and his family, three tables were listed in the Establishment book.<sup>112</sup>

The proportion of table linen that was lost, compared with the total of linen condemned and lost, was much higher during the reigns of James II, William and Mary, and Anne, than the first two Georges (Table 8.7).

TABLE 8.7 'LOSSES': AS PROPORTIONS OF TABLE LINEN CONDEMNED AND LOST

REIGN/ DATES	DAMASK		DIAPER		TOTAL	
	Tablecloths %	Napkins %	Tablecloths %	Napkins %	Tablecloths %	Napkins %
JAMES II 1685-88	4	28	16	51	13	38
WILLIAM & MARY 1689-1702	18	39	11	31	13	35
ANNE 1702-14	18	47	5	29	8	36
GEORGE I 1714-27	12	41	1	18	3	26
GEORGE II <sup>a</sup> 1727-41	7	24	2	14	3	18
GEORGE II <sup>b</sup> 1741-60	-	-	-	-	2	10

*Notes:*

a and b as Table 8.6.

Minor pilfering regularly occurred but larger losses were associated with great events; at the Coronation of 1727 the whole service

was performed with great Magnificence & Order while their Ma<sup>ts</sup> continued at the tables, afterwards the Mobb broke in the sideboards were broke open & the whole ransack'd and lost that was therein.<sup>113</sup>

<sup>112</sup> LS13/38 to /46.

<sup>113</sup> LS13/116, 15.

The largest losses, however, were suffered when the Riding Household was abroad: for example, William's expedition to Ireland in 1690 and the campaigns in the Low Countries resulted in the Board of Greencloth ordering in 1694,

that in regard there hath been great and extravagant losses of Linnen in y<sup>e</sup> Ewery Office for five years past, that for y<sup>e</sup> future the Waiters in y<sup>e</sup> said office doe at y<sup>e</sup> end of each month present . . . an Account of what Linnen hath been lost . . . that no more Table Linnen be provided here, or sent from hence to Flanders.<sup>114</sup>

This action had some effect for the rate of loss declined, although unfortunately five tablecloths and 75 dozen napkins were destroyed in a fire in Flanders.<sup>115</sup> Under Anne the losses were of a similar proportion owing mainly to those incurred during the voyage to Lisbon accompanying the Queen of Portugal in 1708/9, the 'most part taken by ye French'.<sup>116</sup> Despite a decline in the proportion under George I, losses were still incurred, particularly on the voyages to Holland whilst escorting the King on his regular journeys to Hanover. However, under George II they fell owing to less frequent journeys to Hanover, the only major losses occurring during the campaign which culminated in the Battle of Dettingen in 1743.<sup>117</sup> As might be expected, more napkins were stolen than tablecloths and damask was a more desirable target than diaper. It was only during the reign of James II that this was not the case owing to a large loan of diaper to the Duke of Grafton which does not appear to have been returned.<sup>118</sup>

From Queen Anne's reign when monthly laundry accounts were listed in the Comptroller's books (Ill. 8.14), the comparative rates of wear for damask and diaper can be calculated in terms of the average number of times that classes of pieces were washed before they were condemned (Table 8.8).<sup>119</sup>

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<sup>114</sup> LS13/174, 57v.

<sup>115</sup> LS1/43. 'Charge of Table Linnen'.

<sup>116</sup> LS1/52. 'Charge of Table Linnen': 109 tablecloths & 155 doz. napkins.

<sup>117</sup> LS1/88. 'Charge of Irish Linnen'.

<sup>118</sup> LS8/25. 'Charge of Table Linnen'. After James was deposed, the bulk of the linen in the Ewery Office was sent to him in France. LS1/31. This transfer was ignored in preparing Tables 8.6 to 8.9.

<sup>119</sup> The results are obtained by dividing the number of pieces laundered by the number 'rejected'. The number of pieces 'rejected' is the addition of those condemned plus 50 per cent of those lost (assuming that when lost they were halfway through their useful life) plus 50 per cent of the balance between the initial and final charge.

TABLE 8.8 'WEAR': AVERAGE TIMES LAUNDERED BEFORE CONDEMNATION

REIGN/ DATES	DAMASK		DIAPER		TOTAL	
	Tablecloths (No.)	Napkins (Doz.)	Tablecloths (No.)	Napkins (Doz.)	Tablecloths (No.)	Napkins (Doz.)
ANNE 1702-14	73	69	54	49	58	56
GEORGE I 1714-27	81	64	48	49	54	53
GEORGE II <sup>a</sup> 1727-41	44	58	69	54	60	57
GEORGE II <sup>b</sup> 1741-60	-	-	-	-	53	43

Notes:

a and b as Table 8.6.

The rates of wear suggest that damask was harder than diaper and that tablecloths fared marginally better than napkins. There is also the suggestion that the Irish cloth used from 1737 did not wear as well as that from the Low Countries. An obvious problem in applying these results outside the royal household is that when linen was condemned it was clearly not worn out, as it became a jealously guarded 'perk' of the Ewery Officers.<sup>120</sup> Apart from the predations of the prigger, the 'life expectancy' of a cloth depended upon the frequency with which it was washed. This in turn depended upon the size of the stock held in the Ewery. The life expectancy of most cloths, calculated by dividing the average stock by the average annual discharge, was between four and five years (Table 8.9).

TABLE 8.9 'LIFE EXPECTANCY': AVERAGE LIFE OF TABLE LINEN USED IN THE EWERY

REIGN/DATES	DAMASK		DIAPER	
	Tablecloths (years)	Napkins (years)	Tablecloths (years)	Napkins (years)
JAMES II 1685-88	6.2	4.5	4.9	4.3
WILLIAM & MARY 1689-1702	4.6	2.8	3.0	2.6
ANNE 1702-14	4.1	4.3	4.2	4.3
GEORGE I <sup>a</sup> 1714-27	8.0	4.4	4.4	4.5
GEORGE II <sup>b</sup> 1727-41	4.6	3.0	2.6	2.3

Notes: a and b as Table 8.6.

<sup>120</sup> LS13/115, 76v, 1 July 1718.

The widow of the late Josias Poulter Gentn of the Ewry,  
petition'd the Board, And laid her Claim to the share of Linnen  
wore out in the service to the time of her husbands death.

During William and Mary's reign, life expectancy was low reflecting the Greencloth's complaints in 1694 of large losses and their action in forbidding further orders of new napery, thereby reducing the average stocks. Similar life expectancy of two to three years in George II's reign reflects the contemporary complaints of insufficient stocks.<sup>121</sup>

## 8.7 CONCLUSIONS

A number of historians have drawn attention to the drop in the 'real' cost of textiles during the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.<sup>122</sup> This seems certainly to have been the case for figured table linen. Not only did the price of linen damasks woven in the Low Countries appear to rise at a slower rate than the general rate of inflation but new, alternative supplies of cheap German damasks became available on a considerable scale.

There was also a noticeable erosion of the price differential between damask and diaper napery. In the middle of the seventeenth century, fine quality diapers woven in a rich variety of patterns became fashionable in both the United Provinces and England. The reasons are unclear but may lie in changes in serving meals. During the sixteenth century, before the first course of dishes was brought in procession into the chamber, the table was comparatively bare and the glory of a fine damask tablecloth would be plainly seen. In the seventeenth century, plate often of splendid form and size was increasingly placed on the table. In these circumstances, it may have been thought that powerful plate sat more happily upon discreet diaper than upon powerful damasks. An additional factor may have been the growing popularity of supper. The candlesticks placed on the table shed small pools of light which would have highlighted the intricate delights of diaper patterns with their short repeats, but left the long repeats of damask patterns unreadable.

From the fifteenth century, within large households which were predominantly the preserve of male servants, women had the responsibility for the table laundry. In gentry and merchants' households the stewardship of the table linen was largely in female hands. In the English royal household, this function lay with the male officers of the Ewery but the Table Laundress ran a considerable operation with a number of employees and the potential to make significant profits. The extent and organisation of these two royal offices illustrate the central role that napery, along with plate, played in dining at Court. Nevertheless, the 'Charges of Linnen' which only rarely describe either quality or design and the practice of yearly 'condemnations', indicate that napery was essentially considered as other consumables. This is unsurprising in the light of its lively rate of consumption, but is in

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<sup>121</sup> LS13/116, 44.

<sup>122</sup> Including Shammass (1994).



contrast to other households, where fine damasks were treated as consumer durables and handed down from one generation to the next. This occurred even in noble households such as that of Bridget, dowager Countess of Bedford who in her will of 1602 left to her grandsons suites of damask of 'antick work', 'water flowers worke' and 'pyne apple worke' which had been previously included in her husband's probate inventory of 1585.<sup>123</sup>

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<sup>123</sup> 1585 BEDFORD.

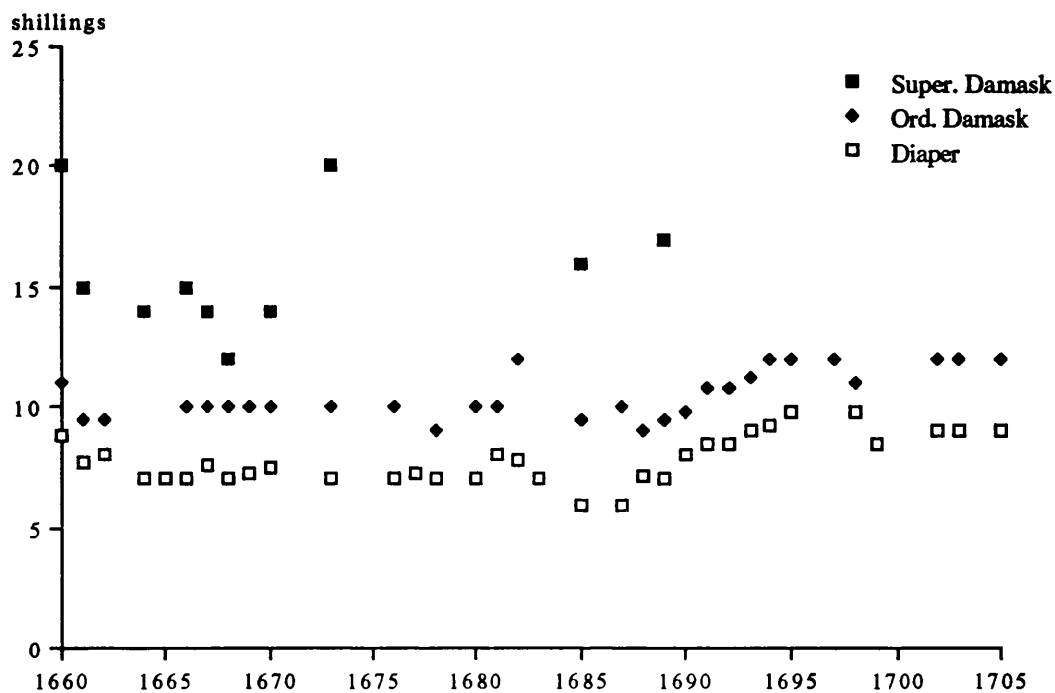


FIG. 8.1 TABLING PRICES PAID BY THE ROYAL HOUSEHOLD, 1660-1705  
(Lord Steward's comptrollers and creditors accounts)

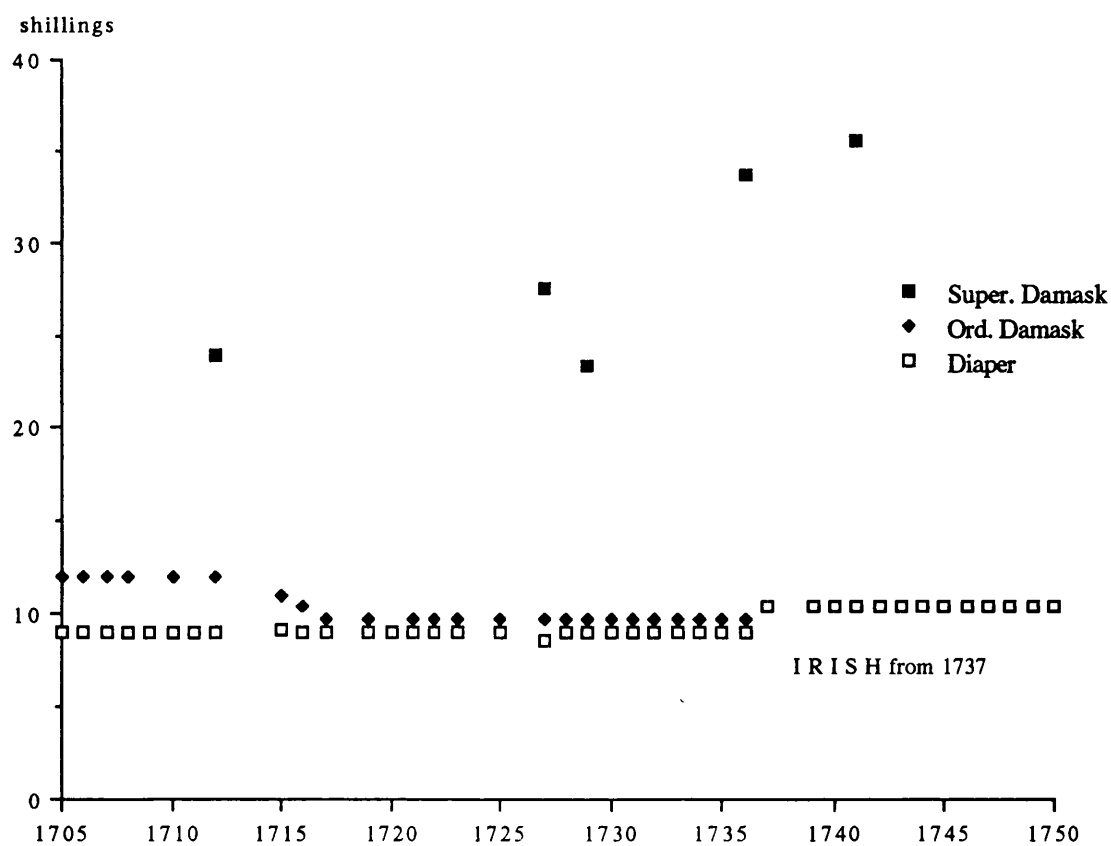


FIG. 8.2 TABLING PRICES PAID BY THE ROYAL HOUSEHOLD, 1705-1750  
(Lord Steward's comptrollers and creditors accounts)

*James R*

Accounts to be allowed in such proportions as the Officers of  
the Green Cloth Hall find necessary for our service for the service  
of our Royal Consort, not exceeding the sums hereafter mentioned

	Per Annum
<i>For our own Table</i>	
For the Queen's	200 00 00
For the King's	150 00 00
For the Queen's	54 15 00
For the Queen's	54 15 00
For the Queen's	36 00 00
For the Queen's	18 05 00
For the Queen's	91 05 00
For the Queen's	20 00 00
For the Queen's	200 00 00
For the Queen's	150 00 00
For the Queen's	35 00 00
For the Queen's	30 00 00
For the Queen's	219 00 00
For the Queen's	184 10 00

III. 8.1 Page from the Establishment Book of 1685, signed by the King, detailing the annual provision of table linen and its care.



III. 8.2 Drawn thread-work hem with decorative loops and darts, second half of the sixteenth century.



III. 8.3 Fragment of 'Perugia' towel, Italian or southern German, c.1500?  
The pattern of the blue band includes **ihs** in point repeat, the abbreviation of the name Jesus in Greek. Another band is formed with copper covered supplementary wefts.





Ill. 8.4 Coverpane 'of Spanish work'. Woven band either Italian or Spanish, c.1550. 90 by 152 cm.

The seams between the inserted bands and the holland cloth are disguised with lines of red silk stitching and bounded by acorns and oak leaves in 'Spanish stitch'.



Ill. 8.5 Ownership mark in eyelet hole stitch, c.1550.

On damask cloth Ill. 2.7. The seam joining the selvages of the two towelling pieces is immediately to the left of the lower case initial e. At the other end of the towel, before it was cut, are the initials PC, probably for Privy Chamber.



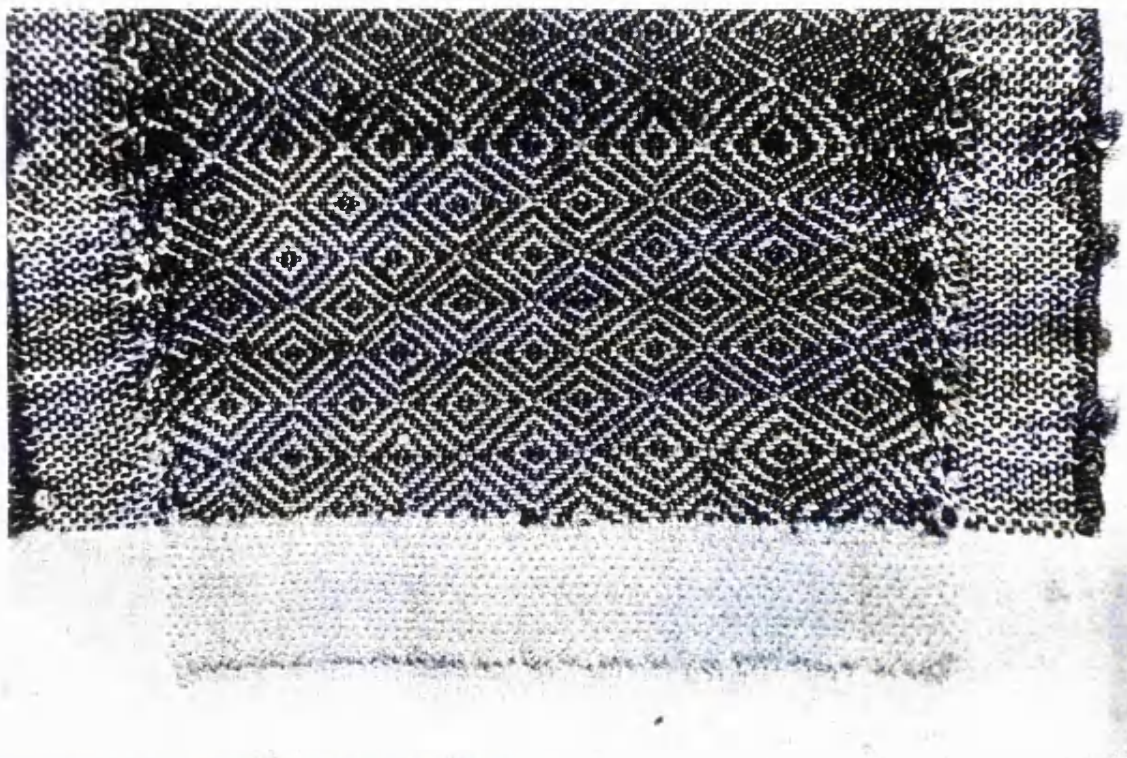


III. 8.6 Ownership mark gb in 'Spanish stitch' of Coventry blue linen thread, c.1560.  
On damask napkin with similar pattern to III. 9.20.



III. 8.7 Ownership mark in blue linen cross stitch, c.1760.  
On damask napkin originally belonging to George and Anne Woodruffe of Poyle Park, Surrey.





Ill. 8.8  
Magnified detail of darning  
sampler with diaper pattern.  
Dutch, 1765.



Ill. 8.9  
Napkin press.  
Dutch, c.1650.

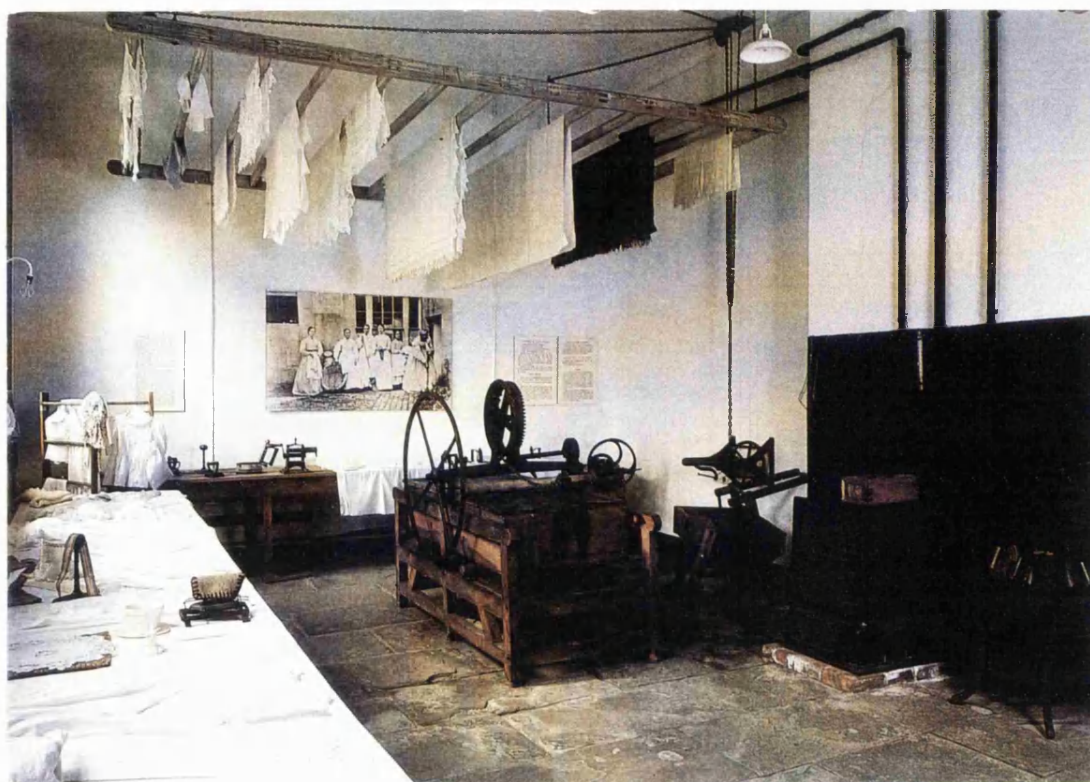


Ill. 8.10 Attic laundry room in Petronella de la Court's doll's house, Dutch, 1670-90.



Ill. 8.11 Attic laundry room in Sara Ploos van Amstel-Rothé's doll's house, Dutch, 1745.





III. 8.12 Box mangle, Beningbrough Hall, Yorkshire, 19th century.

Irish Linnen									
King's Arms      Common Irish									
From B Compt 1738	Net.	Yoll. C.	Neph	Neph	Colth.	Naphth.	Stock	6	Guard
	2	11	2	11	2	11	2	11	
Rem on the Post au	12	13	4	5	11	10	5	10	195
Mad. New 1739	2	7	7				350	300	40
Tot of the Chary	12	15	12		11	10	8	60	795
Loit to 31 Jan 1740							6	3	37
Condem Feb 1740							9	2	236
To be deducted					1	3	2	5	273
Remain a Chary	12	15	12		10	7	5	65	522
Mad. New									3

III. 8.13 'Charge of Irish Linnen', royal household, 1741.

Month July etc Septemb. 1715

*Jane Gunthorpe* for Washing

1087 Damask Table Cloths ad 10 <sup>s</sup> 6 <sup>d</sup>	1087 10 <sup>s</sup> 6 <sup>d</sup>
812 Damask Napkins ad 10 <sup>s</sup> 6 <sup>d</sup>	
45 Diaper Table Cloths ad 10 <sup>s</sup> 6 <sup>d</sup>	
45 Diaper Napkins ad 10 <sup>s</sup> 6 <sup>d</sup>	
ad 10 <sup>s</sup> 6 <sup>d</sup> by July 1715	

*Eidem* for Washing etc by Damask

1087 Table Cloths ad 10 <sup>s</sup> 6 <sup>d</sup>	1087 10 <sup>s</sup> 6 <sup>d</sup>
812 Napkins ad 10 <sup>s</sup> 6 <sup>d</sup>	
45 Diaper Table Cloths ad 10 <sup>s</sup> 6 <sup>d</sup>	
45 Diaper Napkins ad 10 <sup>s</sup> 6 <sup>d</sup>	
ad 10 <sup>s</sup> 6 <sup>d</sup> by August 1715	

*Eidem* for Washing etc by Damask

1087 Table Cloths ad 10 <sup>s</sup> 6 <sup>d</sup>	1087 10 <sup>s</sup> 6 <sup>d</sup>
812 Napkins ad 10 <sup>s</sup> 6 <sup>d</sup>	
45 Diaper Table Cloths ad 10 <sup>s</sup> 6 <sup>d</sup>	
45 Diaper Napkins ad 10 <sup>s</sup> 6 <sup>d</sup>	
ad 10 <sup>s</sup> 6 <sup>d</sup> by September 1715	

*Marg<sup>r</sup> Vail* Careth Allow<sup>ce</sup> for

Washing of Diaper & Rubbers etc  
for the Kitchen, Scullery, Pantry,  
poultry, Larder, Sealting Ho. and  
herbhouse, from the 1<sup>st</sup> October 1714 to  
last of September 1715 being by Weeks 52  
1<sup>st</sup> for Week for the Kitchen being 5<sup>th</sup>  
and 1<sup>st</sup> for Week for ea of 4 other 4<sup>th</sup> of 1<sup>st</sup>  
being 5<sup>th</sup> making in all 10<sup>th</sup> by 10<sup>s</sup> 6<sup>d</sup>  
ad 10<sup>s</sup> 6<sup>d</sup> In all

III. 8.14 Laundry accounts for the royal table laundress, Jane Gunthorpe, July to September 1715.

In July, the table laundry washed 1087 tablecloths and 812 dozen napkins of damask and diaper, and 45 plain guard cloths.

## CHAPTER 9 DIAPER AND DAMASK PATTERNS

*The kinges boord was covered that Day with a cloath of fyne Diaper as could be made & the armes of England, the portcullice, the rose & the pomegranade with many other thinges of pleasour which was woven in the said cloath.*<sup>1</sup>

- Garter Feast at Windsor, 1519

Until the late sixteenth century most damask and diaper napery imported into England was woven in either Flanders or Brabant. From the middle of the century, and probably earlier, much of the damask was produced in Kortrijk, where Louis Guicciardini reported in 1567,

*On fabrique ailleurs des tissus aussi fins, aussi solides, d'une blancheur egale ... En effet, on y represente non seulement les armoires, des rois et des princes, des animaux, des fleurs, des edifices et des personnages, mais encore des scenes historiques, des chaises, des combats, des triomphes ...*<sup>2</sup>

About 1583, linen damask weavers from Kortrijk established a second centre of production at Haarlem in the United Provinces. From the outbreak of war between England and Spain and the declaration of the Twelve Years Truce between Spain and the United Provinces in 1609, some 60 per cent of London imports of damasks seem to have been woven in Haarlem (see Chapter 4.4b). During the Truce, the trade of the Spanish Netherlands recovered with Kortrijk providing some 70 per cent by 1621. Haarlem's share continued to decline to about 10 per cent in 1630, where it remained until the proportions of both Kortrijk and Haarlem damasks were dramatically affected by the advent of quantities of Sletia damasks during the 1670s. After the end of the War of Spanish Succession in 1713, continuing high tariff barriers against both Dutch and Flemish damasks and the improvement in quality of German damasks resulted in the majority of damask imports being from Saxony or Silesia (Chapter 4.5). Irish damasks were also available in England during the early eighteenth century but on a limited scale. Most of these damask imports are likely to have been of stock patterns, rather than stock patterns personalised by the additions of arms and devices, or uniquely designed bespoke commissions. Although this outline of the importation of damasks indicates the changing proportions from particular weaving centres, it leaves many questions unanswered regarding the patterns available in London.

Did, for example, customers in England purchase a proportional cross-section of the stock patterns produced in Kortrijk, Haarlem or Saxony, and were special designs woven for the English market? Was a particular centre favoured with personalised and bespoke commissions from England, and were the resulting damasks 'English' in design, or did

<sup>1</sup> BL Sloane 1494, 64v.

<sup>2</sup> Quoted in Reydams (1912), 28.

they reflect the visual vocabulary and style of the town where they were woven? These questions are addressed using pattern descriptions within the inventory sample and surviving damasks with English provenances.

### 9.1 *THE TUDOR PERIOD: PATTERN DESCRIPTIONS AND SURVIVING EXAMPLES*

Henry VIII's inventory of 1547 contains a number of descriptions of damask napery including uncut loom pieces such as,

Item one pece of fyne dyaper with the story of the feding of  
the Children of Israell with manna seruing for table clothes  
being iij elles flemmysshe brode conteyning in length  
flemyshe elles xliiij elles flemish.<sup>3</sup>

A number of other inventories of noblemen, senior royal servants and wealthy London merchants contain similar pattern descriptions, although they constitute a minority of the surviving documents. Towards the end of the sixteenth century, even these elite inventories contain fewer pattern descriptions and in the next century they are rarely found. Two features of these descriptions are highlighted by the 1547 entry: that examples have not survived of a number of the patterns described; and that such linens were not regularly termed 'damasks' until the second half of the sixteenth century. The latter is not surprising, for the inventories were prepared by professional clerks who were skilled in visual description and valuation, but to whom knowledge of the method of manufacture and structure of particular textiles would have been an irrelevance.

In the late fifteenth century, the clerks referred to all fine figured linens as 'diaper', progressing through several overlapping stages of description until 'diaper' and 'damask' were recognised as separate categories in the mid-sixteenth century (Table 9.1). About 1500, damask was differentiated by qualifying diaper by 'with . . .', or 'of . . .'; for example, 'a diaper tabull clothe with flowres' in 1495, or 'napkins of diaper of the salutation of our Ladye' in 1521.<sup>4</sup> Subsequently, diaper was qualified by 'of damask work': thus, in Sir Henry Guildford's inventory of 1532, 'a gret diaper table cloth of Damaske worke of Crownes and flour de luces'. The next stage was to apply the term 'diaper' simply to geometric patterns and to drop it as a prefix to 'damask work', such as in Master Cromwell's inventory of 1527 which included 'a table clothe of fyne dyaper

<sup>3</sup> 1547 HENRY VIII, 110v.

<sup>4</sup> 1495 [ ] OCLBY, there is a hole through the name of the deceased, a widow from the diocese of Lincoln.  
1521 BUCKINGHAM. Edward Stafford, Duke of Buckingham was executed for treason in 1521. A number of his goods, including table linen, are found within Henry VIII's inventories. The descriptions were probably taken from an attainder inventory of 1521, now lost.

wrought with losenges' but 'a fynne table clothe of Damaske worke with a curyice [curious] flower.'<sup>5</sup> Eventually by the middle of the sixteenth century 'damask' began to be used as a noun instead of an adjective with some inventories listing napery under the separate headings of 'damask', 'diaper' and 'plain'.<sup>6</sup>

Unfortunately, the dating of surviving groups of early damasks is problematic, for although interesting studies have been published by Calberg and Burgers relating to certain examples found in public and private collections, no overall survey of sixteenth-century pieces has been attempted since Professor Six's article 'Zestiende-eeuwsch Damast' of 1913.<sup>7</sup> In addition, several authors and in particular Dr van Ysselsteyn appear to have been conservative in their dating.<sup>8</sup> Of the pieces in public and accessible private collections, perhaps between 100 and 150 date from the sixteenth century, and of these some 30 to 50 prior to 1550.

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5 1527 CROMWELL, a household inventory of Thomas Cromwell when serving Cardinal Wolsey.

6 1559 MAYNARDE. A wealthy widow with houses in Poplar, at Layer Marney, Essex, and in the City of London. Her principal residence at Poplar had detailed lists of 'Napery of damaske' [£12.6.8], 'Nappery of Dyaper' [£2.4.4], and 'Napery Playne' [£5.7.0].

7 Calberg (1933), Burgers (1986), Six (1913A).

8 Ysselsteyn (1962).

TABLE 9.1 DESCRIPTIONS OF LINEN DAMASK IN ENGLISH INVENTORIES  
(For references, see Appendix A)

YEAR	NAME	of diaper with ...	diaper of damask work	of damask work	damask
1494	[ ] OCLBY	x			
1516	WOLSEY		x		
1521	BUCKINGHAM	x	x		
1524	HUNGERFORD		x		
1527	CROMWELL			x	
1530	KIRTON		x		
1532	GUILDFORD		x	x	
1533	PLYMLEY		x		
1534	WEST	x	x		
1536	STODLEY			x	
1538	HUTTON			x	
1540	CROMWELL			x	
1540	LISLE			x	
1541	SANDYS			x	
1542	WESTON	x		x	
1546	NORFOLK			x	
1547	HENRY VIII	x	x	x	
1549	SEYMOUR		x		x
1549	MORE			x	
1552	STOCKLEY			x	x
1552	KIRTON			x	x
1552	BELLASIS			x	
1553	CAREW				x
1553	CRANMER		x	x	
1553	NORTHUMB'D		x		
1554	LAWARRE				x
1554	HYNDE			x	
1558	ISHAM			x	
1558	HYNDMER				x
1558	PONDER			x	
1558	SHURLEY				x
1559	MAYNERDE				x
1559	CROMLOVES				x
1561	PEMBROKE				x
1562	DELVES				x
1562	WYCLIFFE		x		
1562	DURKINGTON			x	
1566	WORSLEY			x	
1568	WHARTON				x
1571	PACKYNGTON				x
1573	BOWES			x	x
1573	SANDERS			x	
1574	MILLES			x	x
1574	PARKER				x
1577	LOVELACE				x
1578	ASSHEFELD				x
1578	THURLAND				x
1579	BUTLER			x	
1580	GARDINER			x	
1580	LYON				x
1580	TANNER				x

If the surviving sixteenth-century pieces are classified by their design and weaving structure, they fall into four distinct groups: firstly, diapers woven in twill weaves on a shaft loom, with geometric patterns and short repeats in both the width and length of the

cloth (Ill. 9.1); secondly, damasks woven in satin of 5 with simple devices and modest repeats, often with unbalanced weaves with the weft counts significantly greater than those of the warp (Ill. 9.2); thirdly, damasks designed with 'tables', panels with finely drawn scenes set against grounds similar to the silk damasks of the period with 'pomegranate', 'pineapple' or grotesque patterns, woven in satin of 7 with unbalanced weaves and lengthy repeats (Ill. 9.3); and fourthly, damasks with several horizontal registers which generally illustrate a biblical story, woven with transverse point repeats in satin of 5 (Ill. 9.4).

As it is impossible to place the inventory entries into these groups simply from their pattern descriptions, they are classified initially by subject.

a) *Geometric patterns*

Geometric patterns, which all appear to be descriptions of diapers, were found in a number of inventories up to the middle of the sixteenth century but became unusual thereafter (Table 9.2). The commonest pattern was of 'cross diamonds' followed by 'lozenges', 'birds' eyes', and 'knots' (Ill. 9.5). Some of the 'knot' patterns were quite complicated, for example 'iiij fyne napkynes of dyaper havyng within a knotte v smalle losenges'.<sup>9</sup>

TABLE 9.2 DIAPER PATTERN DESCRIPTIONS IN ENGLISH INVENTORIES  
(For references, see Appendix A and for 1508 MERCERS, Lyell (1936)\*)

	1 4 8 4	1 5 0 8	1 5 0 9	1 5 1 6	1 5 2 1	1 5 2 4	1 5 2 7	1 5 2 9	1 5 3 2	1 5 3 3	1 5 3 3	1 5 3 6	1 5 4 0	1 5 4 1	1 5 4 7
	G Y L B E R T	M E R C E R S	B E A U T Y	W O L F E Y N G H A M	B U O V E L L	C O R M E L L	B U O R E L L	G U I D E F O R D	A M A D A S	P L Y M D E Y	S T O D E Y	C R O M W E L	S A N D Y S	H E N D R Y	VIII
Cross diamonds	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	
Diamonds			x						x						
Cross lozenges			x												
Lozenges				x		x			x			x		x	x
Birds' eyes				x	x		x		x	x	x	x			x
Knots					x		x		x						x
Knobs							x								

b) *Flower patterns*

Of the damasks, some 70 per cent of the pieces with pattern descriptions are of flowers (Table 9.3). Among the earlier documents, Cardinal Wolsey's household

<sup>9</sup> 1527 CROMWELL.



inventory of 1516 listed many pieces of ‘great’ or ‘small damask floures’. Lady Margaret Beaufort, the mother of Henry VII, owned pieces ‘of Great damaske worke’, a description also found in Henry VIII’s inventory. These descriptions possibly all referred to ‘pomegranate’ patterns similar to the grounds on most of the group of satin of 7 designs with tables and flowers.<sup>10</sup> The wealthy customers for early linen damasks clothed themselves, their priests, beds and altars with silk damasks of such ‘pomegranate’ patterns. Thus the use of the description ‘diaper of great damask work’ or ‘floures’ suggests perhaps, not only the provenance of the name but also that such patterns were regularly woven in linen at the beginning of the century (Ills 9.6 & 9.7).<sup>11</sup>

TABLE 9.3 DAMASK PATTERN DESCRIPTIONS WITH FLOWERS IN ENGLISH INVENTORIES  
(For references, see Appendix A)

	1 4 9 5	1 5 0 9	1 5 1 6	1 5 2 1	1 5 2 7	1 5 3 2	1 5 4 1	1 5 4 2	1 5 4 6	1 5 4 7	1 5 5 3	1 5 5 4	1 5 5 4	1 5 7 4	1 5 8 5	1 5 9 0	1 5 9 3
	[] O C L B Y	B E A U F O R T	W O L S E I N G H A M	B U C K I N G H A M	C R O M W E L L	G U I L D F O R D	S A N D Y S	W E S T O N	N O R F O L K	H E N R Y V I I I	N O R T H U M B R I D G E	H Y N D E	W A R R E N	M I L E S	B E D F O R D	F A I R F A X	S M Y T H E
Great damask work		x								x							
Great damask flowers			x				x										
Small damask flowers			x														
Branch and flowers							x						x				
Pineapple work															x		
Flowers/small flowers	x		x	x	x		x			x					x		
Knots and roses				x						x							
Roses and crowns							x										
Roses									x				x		x		
‘Gillofers’ and roses						x											
Marigolds and roses													x			x	
Marigolds															x	x	
Fleurs de lys and roses								x	x	x			x				
Fleurs de lys crowned						x			x		x		x				
Lilies															x		
‘Paunces’ [Pansies]								x					x				
Columbines								x									
‘Water flowers’													x				
Acorns and flowers															x		
Roses and mulberries																x	
Mulberries																x	
Grapes												x					

10 They do not appear to refer to patterns illustrating stories. In 1547 HENRY VIII, 109v, unused pieces of napkining of ‘greate damaske worke’ are valued at some 3s 2½d per English ell but ‘of Thistory of Cayme [Cain] and Abell’ at 4s per English ell.

11 Also see Six (1913A), Figuur 20.



Specific descriptions such as ‘gillofers [gillyflowers] and roseis’, ‘columbein flower’, and ‘pansees’ probably referred to modest repeat patterns in satin of 5 such as the fragment in the Catharine Convent, Utrecht, which matches the description ‘knottes and roses in theym’ found among the Duke of Buckingham’s attainted goods (Ill. 9.8).<sup>12</sup> Descriptions frequently found up to the middle of the century were ‘Fleurs de lys crowned’ and ‘Fleurs de lys and Roses’, presumably pieces similar to a fragment in the Victoria & Albert Museum (Ill. 9.9) and to the cloth in the painting of the *Marriage at Cana* by Jan van Coninxloo the Younger (Ill. 9.10).

In 1855, the South Kensington Museum (which became the Victoria and Albert Museum in 1899) purchased a large quantity of textile fragments from Jakob Krauth of Vienna. These included a number of linen damasks with flower patterns which are woven in satin of 5 with short repeats. On their acquisition they were described as ‘Saxon 17th century’.<sup>13</sup> In 1913, Six illustrated several of these pieces and expressed doubts as to some of the attributions, particularly the fragment with fleurs de lys and crowns and a second with the arms of France (Ills 9.9 & 9.2).<sup>14</sup> These certainly appear to have been woven in the sixteenth century, probably in Flanders or Brabant. Interestingly, in 1550, a Kortrijk weaver supplied a piece of tabling *met de wapene van Franckerijk*.<sup>15</sup> Marguerite Prinnet has argued more recently, that some of the fragments in London were woven by the Graindorge family in Caen.<sup>16</sup>

### c) *Patterns with arms and devices*

The third subject group includes coats of arms and heraldic badges together with birds and animals, some of which may also represent personal devices (Table 9.4).<sup>17</sup> An inventory of 1495 described a tablecloth with ‘Roses and sonnes’, which possibly referred to the *Rose en soleil* badge of Edward IV who had died in 1483.<sup>18</sup> Lady Margaret Beaufort had both tablecloth and towel with ‘portcullises and roses’.<sup>19</sup> The portcullis was the badge of the Beauforts and was adopted by Henry VII and all subsequent English sovereigns. The damask design was probably of the type engraved on the cup made for Lady Margaret about 1500, which has roses, portcullis and fleurs de lys within diamond-shaped compartments, with ‘marguerites’ at the intersections (Ill. 9.11). The six fine napkins belonging to Cardinal Wolsey, ‘with Castills and roundes’, were possibly of a

12 1532 GUILDFORD, 1542 WESTON, 1554 WARREN, 1547 HENRY VIII, 173v.

13 V & A Registered papers, RP 2169A/1888 and Krauth’s list 12915/1888. The linen pieces have inventory numbers 1161-1888 to 1182-1888 inclusive.

14 Six (1913A), 177.

15 Sabbe (1975), I, 188.

16 Prinnet (1982), 109-114.

17 For example, the tablecloth ‘of Lions’ in 1585 Bedford may possible have been the Plvs Oultre pattern, with the badges of Burgundy flanked by large lions, illustrated in Pauwels & De Jaegere (1986), No. 179.

18 1495 [ ] OCLBY.

19 1509 BEAUFORT, 13.

similar type with the badges of the Kingdom of Castille within round compartments.<sup>20</sup> In Henry VIII's 1547 inventory, there were many pieces in the Old Jewel House at Westminster described as 'sore worne and full of hooles'. A number were decorated with 'Stafforde knotts', suggesting that they were obtained in 1521 on the attainder of Edward Stafford, third Duke of Buckingham. A few described Stafford badges as 'with Stafford knottes with a square within yt eight cornered'.<sup>21</sup> In connection with a dispute, in 1720, the College of Arms provided a register of eighteen Stafford badges, all of the same form: a device within a roundel bordered by a circle of Stafford knots (Ill. 9.12). Badge XIV contained a Harrington knot or a love knot, which could well be described as 'a square within yt eight cornered'.

TABLE 9.4 DAMASK PATTERN DESCRIPTIONS WITH ARMS, DEVICES, BIRDS AND ANIMALS IN ENGLISH INVENTORIES  
(For references, see Appendix A)

	1 4 9 5	1 5 0 9	1 5 1 9	1 5 2 0	1 5 2 1	1 5 3 2	1 5 3 4	1 5 4 1	1 5 4 6	1 5 4 7	1 5 5 3	1 5 5 4	1 5 5 4	1 5 8 3	1 5 8 5	1 5 9 0	1 5 9 3
	[] O C C L B Y	B E A U F O R T	H E N R Y VIII	W O L S E Y	B U C K I N G H A M	G U I L D F O R D	W E S T	S A N D Y S	N O R F O L K	H E N R Y VIII	N O R T H U M B ' D	H Y N D E	W A R R E N	L E I C E S T E R	B E D F O R D	F A I R F A X	S M Y T H E
Roses and suns	x																
Portcullises and roses		x															
Stafford knots, etc					x												
Castles and rounds				x													
'Hyndes'												x					
Scallop shells								x							x		
Plus Oultr							x										
Personal arms														x			
Royal arms			x							x		x	x		x		x
Roses and eagles									x								
Spread eagle								x					x		x	x	
Spread eagle and fleur de lys											x						
Flowers and birds									x								
Birds									x								
Peacock																	
Heron						x									x		
Lions															x		
Pelican									x								

20 1516 WOLSEY, 82, received 17 May 1520.

21 1547 HENRY VIII, 171v.

In 1534, Nicholas West, Bishop of Ely who served the king principally as a diplomat rather than a churchman, left an unused piece of towelling of diaper 'with plus oultr'.<sup>22</sup> The valuation indicates that it probably had a modest repeat with simple devices like the napkin in the Kortrijk museum (Ill. 9.13), rather than the splendid design described in the commission of 1528 for the Order of the Golden Fleece.<sup>23</sup> Similar designs appear to have been produced throughout the century with an example clearly visible on the family portrait of c.1585 by Anthonius Claessins (Ill. 9.14). Some of the inventory inscriptions 'of the splaide' of 'spread eagle' probably refer to such patterns, whilst others may be akin to the 'Roses and Egles' in the Duke of Norfolk's inventory and the 'matching' fragment in Utrecht (Ill. 9.15). Several of the descriptions, however, do not have any 'matching' survivals; for example, Norfolk's tablecloth 'of the pellicane' and Sir Henry Guildford's four tablecloths 'of pawnees', or peacocks.

In view of the nature of the descriptions, valuations and 'matching' pieces, these damasks decorated with devices were probably woven in satin of 5 with modest repeats, whether of bespoke or stock designs. In contrast, those bearing the arms of the King and the Earl of Leicester (sometime Governor of the Netherlands) are likely to have been of the finest quality with lengthy repeats woven in either satin of 5 or of 7.<sup>24</sup> A royal household inventory of 1542 includes 'a pece of fyne Diaper with the king his graces Armes crowned with a Garter for a tablecloth' and two further pieces of 'like diaper for napkins'.<sup>25</sup> There is a napkin matching this description in the Victoria and Albert Museum. It is one of a group of very fine quality damasks of satin of 7, which appear to have been woven between about 1515 and 1540. Although it is unclear where they were produced, the nodal point for their trade and probably their design, was Antwerp. By 1530, the City was not only the principal entrepôt for trade in Western Europe but had become the focus for the production and sale of works of art in the Low Countries, particularly carved and painted retables.<sup>26</sup> By the middle of the century, close connections had been established between merchants and commission-agents in Antwerp and damask weavers in Kortrijk. It is likely this had developed earlier and that commissions for England were satisfied through merchant adventurers based at the 'English House' in Antwerp.

The design of the Henry VIII napkin may have been the exemplar for subsequent royal and princely napkins with its field dominated by a powerfully drawn coat of arms (Ill. 9.16). Below the royal arms, the heartsease and columbine are rendered in the same way as in the

22 1534 WEST, at 1s per yd.

23 See Calberg (1933), 10-12, the tablecloths included *la devise 'plus oultre' aux quatre coins*.

24 PRO E101/416/5, Great Wardrobe account for 1506-8 records a tablecloth at 26s 8d per yard - a very high price that was only surpassed in 1729 (the other tablecloths in 1506-8 cost 5s per yard). Presumably, this tablecloth was a bespoke order for Henry VII with the Tudor arms and badges.

25 E315/160, 94v.

26 See Thijs (1993).

foregrounds of two series of tapestries designed about 1520 for the Emperor Charles V: *Moralités* and *Les Honneurs*.<sup>27</sup> The treatment of the borders is reminiscent of the title pages of books, particularly those from the print shop of Johann Froben in Basle, produced between 1515 and 1520 by Urs Graf, Ambrosius Holbein and Hans Holbein the Younger (Ill. 9.17).<sup>28</sup> At the same time, Albrecht Dürer made the woodcuts of the *Triumphal Arch* and the *Great Column* which have a similar vocabulary.<sup>29</sup> All these works would have been known in the print shops of Antwerp.<sup>30</sup>

This napkin has been variously ascribed: to the reign of Henry VII by van Ysselsteyn, to that of Henry VIII by Six and to the first half of the sixteenth century by Prinnet. In view of its renaissance elements with close parallels in prints and tapestries, the design of the napkin is likely to date from about 1520. With this and other designs, some have assumed that several years would elapse between the development of visual ideas in painting and their application to commodities such as tablecloths. This applies anachronistic ideas of the 'fine' and 'decorative' arts and misunderstands the nature of linen damasks which were very expensive products for a fashionable, elite clientele. The notion of a time-lag may have arisen as, once designed, a linen damask pattern could be rewoven over several years with considerable cost savings. The unused pieces in Henry VIII's 1547 inventory might, therefore, have been woven some time after the original delivery which was probably received during the 1520s.<sup>31</sup>

The damasks 'with the kynges armes' in Alderman Hynde's inventory and 'of the Quenes armes' in that of Sir Ralph Warren seem to have been stock patterns woven for the English market, rather than bespoke damasks for the crown.<sup>32</sup> Hynde's tablecloths with the royal arms were valued at similar rates to damasks 'of imagery' and 'of the prodigal son' and were narrower than the tablecloth in Henry VIII's inventory of 1542.<sup>33</sup> There are

27 Herrero Carretero (1994), 61-80.

28 Butsch (1969), Plates 42-44, 53, 60, 78; Boheemen (1986), Plaat 3 & Af.b.6.

29 Bartrum (1995), Nos 37-39.

30 For development of printing in Antwerp, see Nave (1993).

31 The tabling also remained in the Great Wardrobe accounts for several years, e.g. E101/428/5, Philip & Mary [1557-8].

32 Machyn (1846)\* states Warren was buried on 16 July 1553 and Hynde on 8 August 1554. Queen Mary ruled alone between 19 July 1553 and 24 July 1554 which explains the description in Warren's inventory 'of the Quenes armes'. From 25 July 1554 Mary ruled in conjunction with her husband Philip of Spain. The joint monarchs used a conjugal coat of arms on the Great Seal struck after their marriage. Nevertheless, the standard Tudor arms as borne by Mary's father Henry VIII were generally used. The description in Hynde's inventory of 'the Kynges armes' may be an acknowledgement of Philip or a recognition that the arms were those of Henry VIII and Edward VI.

33 1554 HYNDE,                      King's arms              2¼ yds broad [3 ells]              at    8s 7½d per yd  
    King's arms              2 yds broad [10/4 ells]              at    6s 8d per yd  
    Prodigal son              2 yds broad [10/4 ells]              at    6s 8d per yd  
    Imagery                      2¼ yds broad [3 ells]              at    6s 8d per yd  
     1542 HENRY VIII,              Royal arms              3¼ yds broad [17/4 ells]  
     [2¼ yds = 205.7 cm = 3 Kortrijk ells, using a bleached ell of 69 cm.]

surviving damasks with the Tudor arms and devices which seem to be stock patterns woven during the reigns of Henry VIII and Edward VI (Ills 9.18 & 2.7).<sup>34</sup>

In the second half of the century, two patterns were produced containing a portrait surmounted by the inscription QVENE ELIZABETH, together with the arms and badges of her mother Anne Boleyn. There are several reasons to believe that these designs were first produced in Kortrijk about 1559, soon after the Queen's accession, not least because the portraits have distinct similarities with an engraving published in Antwerp in that year (Ills 9.19 & 9.20).<sup>35</sup> The patterns are woven in satin of 5 with transverse point repeats, and either three or four registers in the length repeat. Most of the examples have unbalanced weaves with the density of the wefts greater than the warps. As some twenty examples survive in Britain, it seems that they were also stock patterns woven for the English market. The set of napery 'of the Queenes Armes' owned by Alice, widow of the Customer of London, Thomas Smythe, may conceivably have been of one of these designs.<sup>36</sup>

#### *d) Biblical patterns*

The final group of sixteenth-century patterns contains those illustrating biblical and other stories (Table 9.5). Among Cardinal Wolsey's extensive holdings of damask in 1516 was a tablecloth 'with floures and tabilles'. This presumably describes an example of the group, woven in satin of 7, with pictures set against a 'pomegranate' field. The tablecloth was four ells wide, as all the known examples in this group. There is a fine cloth of this type with tables of 'Abraham and Isaac' and 'Samson and the Lion' which was probably in England during the sixteenth century (Ill. 9.21).<sup>37</sup>

<sup>34</sup> There is a napkin in the Abegg-Stiftung, 5069, with the same design as V & A, 56-1890.

<sup>35</sup> For detailed discussion, see Mitchell (1997A).

<sup>36</sup> The three principal crown officers in the Port of London were the Customer, Controller and Searcher.

<sup>37</sup> V & A, T277-1913. It has the mark SS embroidered in eyelet-hole stitch with white linen thread. Livery collars of 'Esses' were worn by senior royal servants at this period.

TABLE 9.5 DAMASK PATTERN DESCRIPTIONS WITH BIBLICAL STORIES, ETC  
IN ENGLISH INVENTORIES  
(For references, see Appendix A, save for Hardwick which is given in footnote 42.)

	1 5 1 6	1 5 2 1	1 5 2 7	1 5 3 4	1 5 4 1	1 5 4 6	1 5 4 7	1 5 5 1	1 5 5 3	1 5 5 4	1 5 5 4	1 5 8 3	1 5 8 5	1 5 9 0	1 5 9 3
	W O L S E Y	B U C K I N G H A M	C R O M W E L L	W E S T	S A N D Y S	N O R F O L K	H E N R Y V I I I	H A R D W I C K	N O R T H U M B ' D	H Y N D E	W A R R E N	L E I C E S T E R	B E D F O R D	F A I R F A X	S M Y T H E
Flowers and tables	x														
Annunciation		x													
Lily pot and the Holy Ghost, etc			x	x	x						x		x		
Adam and Eve		x													
Creation															x
Abraham						x	x	x							x
Cain and Abel							x								
Feeding the children of Israel							x								
Susanna									x						
The Prodigal Son										x					x
Judith and Holofernes												x			x
Daniel															x
'Men of Warre'									x						
'Anticke Worke'													x		
'Confused Woork'															x
Imagery/Pictures										x			x	x	

A design which uses the identical field has four tables, including a hunt taken from the Cranach engraving of *The Stag Hunt* of c.1506 and a scene of boys with hobby horses scrumping fruit (Ills. 9.22, 9.23 & 9.3).<sup>38</sup> Also belonging to this satin of 7 group are several pieces with similar patterns of *The Annunciation* (Ill. 9.24).<sup>39</sup> The London example is probably the 'coverpane of fine diaper of the salutacion of our Ladie', albeit without its gold lace edging, listed in Henry VIII's inventory of 1547, but originally belonging to the Duke of Buckingham and woven between 1515 and 1521.<sup>40</sup> A second coverpane, apparently from the same source, was of 'Adam and Eve'. C. A. Burgers has recently found a napkin in a private collection with this design. It is woven in satin of 7

38 There has been disagreement as to the date of Cranach's *Stag Hunt* but two recent publications both ascribe it to c.1506, Bartrum (1995), No.170 and Landau & Parshall (1994), 176. Examples: Abegg-Stiftung, tablecloth 4284, napkin 3917; a second tablecloth was sold at Christie's London, Bernheimer sale, 2.10.1996, Lot 453.

39 London, V & A 694-1902; Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, see Ysselsteyn (1962), No. 118; Netherlands, Dutch Private Collection, see Burgers (1959), No. 1; Copenhagen, Kunstindustrimuseet, 65/1985, see Paludan & Wieth-Knudsen (1989), 32, Fig. 1. The design is discussed in detail in Mitchell (1998B).

40 See Chapter 3.2c.

and could well date from c.1520. Above and below the central panel are boys playing with whirligigs and other toys which are very similar to those on the 'Cranach' tablecloth (Ill. 9.3).<sup>41</sup>

Henry VIII's 1547 inventory also contained loom pieces of the stories 'of Abraham and Sara', 'of Cayme and Abell', and 'of the feding of the Children of Israell with manna'. There are no surviving damasks that appear to correspond to the last description and those of Cain and Abel all appear to be of a later date. However, there are several versions of the story of Abraham which may date from the middle of the century (Ill. 9.4). The subject was plainly popular as the Duke of Norfolk had a tablecloth of the 'storye of Abraham' in 1546 and Bess of Hardwick bought several parcels of similar damasks between 1551 and 1592.<sup>42</sup> It is noticeable that the pattern descriptions of 'Susanna', 'the Prodigal Son', and 'Judith and Holofernes' only start to be found from the middle of the century. There are surviving sixteenth century damasks with these designs generally woven in transverse point repeat with several registers, illustrating different scenes from the particular story (Ills 9.25 and 9.26). Although there are no descriptions within the sample, hunting patterns with several registers were woven towards the end of the century (Ill. 9.27). Apart from biblical patterns, the Duke of Northumberland, appointed 'great admiral for life' in 1542, had five tablecloths of 'Men of Warre'.<sup>43</sup> The Earl of Bedford also owned cloths 'of Anticke woorke' which probably referred to grotesque designs such as the fragment in the Abegg collection with crouching youths blowing trumpets (Ill. 9.28).<sup>44</sup>

As well as indicating the tastes in napery of the English elite, this 'matching' of surviving examples to documentary pattern descriptions enables the three distinct groups of damasks, classified by their design and weaving structure, to be placed within a preliminary dating framework. Firstly, damasks with simple designs of flowers, birds and armorial devices with modest repeats, woven in satin of 5, were produced from the second half of the fifteenth century into the seventeenth century. They probably constituted the bulk of the pieces made. Most of those with two or three motifs, contained within compartments of knots and trellis-work, appear to date from the middle of the sixteenth century or earlier. Secondly, very fine damasks with sophisticated pictures set against fields of 'pomegranate' and other patterns with substantial repeats, woven in satin of 7 with unbalanced weaves,

41 Boys playing are found in various sources at the beginning of the sixteenth century, typically in alphabets by Albrecht Durer and Hans Holbein the Younger and ornaments in a Rouen Book of Hours of 1508. See Butsch (1969), Plates 88, 89 and 64. For illustrations taken from *Heures à l'usage de Rouen, imprimées pour Symon Vostre ...*, Paris, 1508, see Racinet (1988), 180. Also in designs by Zoppino, see Lotz (1933), Tafel 57.

42 Chatsworth, Hardwick Ms 1, 5 Nov. 1551- 31 March 1552, 4v, and Hardwick Ms 7, 6 March 1591/92, 18r & 21v.

43 The five tablecloths totalled 34 yds, equivalent to a loom piece of 45 Kortrijk ells. Presumably a bespoke commission.

44 1585 BEDFORD.



were produced from about 1515 until 1540.<sup>45</sup> Thirdly, damasks illustrating biblical and other stories with long repeats of several registers and transverse point repeats were woven in satin of 5 from the middle of the sixteenth century. The early examples, such as the story of Abraham (Ill. 9.4) and the patterns including Queen Elizabeth's portrait (Ill. 9.20), have unbalanced weaves, but towards the end of the century balanced weaves are increasingly found. Throughout the period, stock, personalised stock and bespoke patterns were produced in all three types of design.

## 9.2 THE TUDOR PERIOD: TRENDS IN SUBJECT MATTER

It is noticeable that most of the stock patterns with biblical themes available in Flanders, are found within the inventory sample. Even the notable absentees such as the story of David and Bathsheba (Ill. 9.29) and the 'Glorification of the Holy Virgin' (Ill. 9.30) seem to have been sold in Tudor England, as over recent years a number of examples have been brought by their English owners to the Victoria and Albert Museum for opinions.<sup>46</sup> It is impossible, however, with such a tiny sample of inventories with pattern descriptions to know if the demand for particular designs was similar in England to that in France, the Spanish Netherlands or the United Provinces. The suspicion has been that different religious climates would result in different demands. Certainly, as regards the production of the two principal manufacturing centres, Dr van Ysselsteyn had no doubts: 'there is a striking difference between patterns from the Roman Catholic south [Flanders] and the Calvinistic Haarlem'.<sup>47</sup> Unfortunately, a number of her attributions of pieces to Kortrijk or Haarlem are questionable and although the proposition that a difference between the two centres is likely, its nature remains unclear. Indeed, the product range may not have been strikingly different in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, for the theological views of both weaver-entrepreneurs and their potential customers were varied and complex. For example, the damask weavers in Kortrijk included Calvinists and Anabaptists as well as Roman Catholics, whilst in Haarlem between 1577 and 1618 a liberal protestant city council was kept in power by a minority of Roman Catholic regents.<sup>48</sup> In England glib assumptions can also prove false, for Queen Elizabeth was compared to King Hezekiah who 'defaced the images, and . . . brake in peces the brasen serpent', whilst she kept a crucifix and a picture of the Virgin in her chapel.<sup>49</sup> (Even more

<sup>45</sup> And possibly later: in a court case at Kortrijk of 1559, there was reference to a damask of '*grootte blomme inhoudende figure van Hercules*' [great flowers containing the figure of Hercules], Sabbe (1975) I, 189.

<sup>46</sup> Refer to V & A Handlist, 859-1907, T74-1978, T104-1931.

<sup>47</sup> Ysselsteyn (1982), 42.

<sup>48</sup> Discussed in Mitchell (1997B).

<sup>49</sup> Aston (1993), 97-127.

surprising, among the paintings retained for the Lord Protector, Oliver Cromwell, from Charles I's collection was *Mary's Ascension with the Apostles looking on.*)<sup>50</sup>

A number of these biblical stories, told in several registers on damask tablecloths woven between 1550 and 1600, would have appealed to both Protestant and Roman Catholic customers. In *The Moralizing Prints of Cornelis Anthonisz*, Christine Megan Armstrong points to the tension between the 'commercial revolution' in the Low Countries, in particular the rise of Antwerp, and Christ's teachings, making 'greed, avarice, and prodigality major topics for contemporary moralists'. Whilst acknowledging that 'the Reformation certainly bestowed greater status on Scripture in its entirety', she describes how the same story was used by theologians of different persuasions. For example,

Luther delivered a series of sermons in which the Prodigal Son was employed as the illustration par excellence of his doctrine of justification by faith. He identified the older brother not with the Jews but with 'papists and monks' and their legalistic emphasis on works and penitential satisfaction. The Prodigal no longer represents Christianized heathens but, instead, those who are saved through belief in divine mercy . . .

Among Hans Sach's many dramatic efforts is a Prodigal Son play dated 1556, in which the older brother refuses to forgive his errant sibling, claiming that salvation can be bought with good works. The other side proved equally eager to recruit him for their cause: in 1547 the Council of Trent's answer to solifidianism described the Son as a perfect penitent, who recognised and redressed his sins through love.<sup>51</sup>

Armstrong believes that Cornelis Anthonisz's '*Prodigal Son*'s complex interweaving of various exegetical threads . . . suggest a collaboration . . . with a theologically learned adviser'. Despite her allusion to the art of the loom, such collaboration seems unlikely in the production of damasks. Although multi-register patterns are, in essence, woven print series, they are generally less detailed, the gouge and burin having a freedom denied to the shuttle. It may be theologically significant, however, that there are variants of the five-register sixteenth-century damask pattern which omit the last register illustrating the Prodigal's reconciliation with his father, regarded by his elder brother with stony face (Ill. 9.26).<sup>52</sup>

In his recent book, Wells-Cole discusses the use of Heemskerck's prints, including the story of the Prodigal Son in the decoration of Hardwick Hall, and the light they shed on Bess of Hardwick's religious views. He concludes that they shed very little, and quotes Barbara Haeger's opinion that,

<sup>50</sup> Sherwood (1989), 29.

<sup>51</sup> Armstrong (1990), 19 & 89.

<sup>52</sup> A tablecloth with the 4-register variant was sold at Phillips, London on 21.7.98, Lot 37.

It seems not unreasonable to suggest that, like the parable of the prodigal son, the vast majority of biblical subjects depicted in the Netherlands during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries can be considered neither specifically Catholic nor Protestant in nature.<sup>53</sup>

This is arguably the case, save for the print series and linen damasks concerned with idolatry. Although a number of damask weavers and other tradesmen were Protestants, Kortrijk was not seriously affected by the *Beeldenstorm* [the Iconoclasm] of 1566, despite reports that,

the audacity of the Calvinist preachers in this area [of Kortrijk] has grown so great that in their sermons they admonish the people that it is not enough to remove all idolatry from their hearts: they must also remove it from their sight.<sup>54</sup>

A popular story used to preach against idolatry was that of Nebuchadnezzar and the fiery furnace. The King set up a golden idol and a herald commanded all to fall down and worship it. Three Hebrew companions of Daniel refused and were thrown bound into the furnace. Because of their faith in the one true God they were unscathed and the King was astonished: 'Lo, I see four men loose, walking in the midst of the fire, and they have no hurt; and the form of the fourth is like the Son of God'.<sup>55</sup>

Pieter Aertsen in his celebrated painting of 1560 depicted the golden idol as a huge classical statue.<sup>56</sup> Some ten years later a damask was woven at Kortrijk illustrating the same story, but the idol atop a renaissance column was a mitred priest, presumably representing the Church of Rome (Ills 9.31 & 9.32). The surviving example of this pattern has an English provenance. This particular story does not seem to have been used by the Haarlem weavers, for although damasks supplied to the City Council in 1593 included 'the story of Daniel', the surviving Haarlem damasks depict other stories from the Book of Daniel including Bel and the Dragon (Ill. 9.33). These stories were also used as an exhortation to reject idols and worship the true God. Indeed Bel and the Dragon had been the subject of a play which had been produced by the Amsterdam rederijkers [Chamber of Rhetoricians] in 1533 which led to them undertaking a pilgrimage to Rome as a punishment.<sup>57</sup>

An interesting study of the ownership of paintings in sixteenth-century England was published in 1981 by Susan Foister. Her source material was the collection of inventories in the Public Record Office (class Prob.2) from the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, which have also been used in this thesis. Sixty-three of these listed pictures, alabasters and

<sup>53</sup> Wells-Cole (1997), 293.

<sup>54</sup> Parker (1985), 75.

<sup>55</sup> *Holy Bible*, Daniel, 3 (25).

<sup>56</sup> Filedt Kok (1986), 80 & Fig. 20.

<sup>57</sup> Freedberg (1986), 71 note 54.

other sculpture. Although Foister warns that caution is needed in drawing conclusions from such a small sample, she writes of two main areas of change regarding religious subjects,

firstly, the number of religious sculptures shows a sharp decline from the first half of the sixteenth century to the second half, while the number of paintings of religious subjects remains fairly constant, and, secondly, there is a marked change in the kinds of religious subjects represented in these pictures. While sculpture, apart from terracottas, consisted entirely of representations of saints, Virgins and scenes from the life of Christ, other subjects were represented in paintings: Old Testament and New Testament stories are recorded in the inventories from the 1530s onward and the conventional religious subjects largely disappear after the reign of Henry VIII.<sup>58</sup>

Mindful that the linen damask sample is less than half of Foister's 'small sample', the profile of damask patterns with religious themes is broadly in agreement with her conclusions. Devotional subjects, represented by the 'Salutation of our Lady' and 'lily pot and the holy ghost' are largely confined to the first half of the century whereas biblical narratives such as 'Abraham and Isaac' and 'the Prodigal Son' are found from the 1540s.

There are also sympathetic chords between portraits in linen, and on canvas or board:

While the owning of portraits of monarchs seems to have been widespread, the number of Englishmen in the Elizabethan period who commissioned portraits of themselves seems to have been very small.<sup>59</sup>

It is significant that the only sixteenth-century linen damask portrait is that of a Queen of England and that it had a ready market. This echoes the 1563 proclamation regarding Elizabeth's image stating 'that "all sortes of subiectes and people both noble and meane" wished to procure the Queen's portrait for exhibition in their houses'. Roy Strong who has discussed the use of the royal image at length also writes,

The sacred images of Christ, the Virgin, and Saints had been cast out of the churches as so much rubbish, while in their place we see the meteoric rise of the sacred images of the *Diva Elizabetha*.<sup>60</sup>

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<sup>58</sup> Foister (1981), 280.

<sup>59</sup> Foister (1981), 280.

<sup>60</sup> Strong (1987), 17 & 37.

### 9.3 THE STUART PERIOD

#### a) *Bespoke and personalised stock patterns*

Unfortunately, few seventeenth century English inventories included descriptions of damask or diaper patterns and an indication of the demand for particular patterns can only be obtained from surviving examples with English provenances. Although there must be a number of 'undiscovered' bespoke and personalised patterns in private hands, there are remarkably few examples in public collections.

In 1593, the celebrated Haarlem weaver-entrepreneur, Passchier Lammertijn was in London, where he paid customs duty on five loom pieces of tabling and ten-and-a-half pieces of towelling. These may have been commissions that he wished to deliver personally but no doubt he also wanted to drum up further business. He returned on several occasions, including late in 1606 when he delivered a gift from the States General to Henry, Prince of Wales. The order had been placed in July 1605 and was to be in the latest fashion, '*van het nyeuwe fatsoen*'. It consisted of five tablecloths, eighteen dozen napkins, twenty-eight banquet napkins and twenty-one hand towels, all decorated with the arms of the King of England, '*van Zyne ende hare Co: Ma<sup>t</sup> van Engelant*'. A number of the napkins and a single banquet napkin survive but none of the tablecloths (Ills 3.5 & 3.6).<sup>61</sup> Presumably, the designs of the tablecloths would have been similar to those supplied by Lammertijn to Henri IV and Christian IV, but with the English royal arms within the short borders. Perhaps the long border with the Armada battle was originally used on these tablecloths or on an earlier parcel given to James I in 1603 (Ills 9.34 & 9.35). These particular damasks were very expensive: Lammertijn charged 30 guilders per ell for the tablecloths, equivalent to £3.12.0 per yard which was four times the price of the best stock patterns supplied to James I by the royal linen drapers in London.<sup>62</sup> Other damasks which may also have been diplomatic gifts were four sets, recorded in the 1639 inventory of Anne, Viscountess Dorchester, 'with my Lord of Dorchester's armes on them'.<sup>63</sup>

It is likely that the later Stuart monarchs had bespoke table linen, but this is unclear from the Lord Steward's records until Queen Anne's death, when a payment was recorded for 'superfine Damask Linnen bought by the late Queens Order w<sup>th</sup> Her Said Ma<sup>ts</sup> Cypher in the Corners'. This was bought by Col. Godfrey in Flanders and consisted of 24 tablecloths and 12 dozen napkins.<sup>64</sup>

61 For details of this order, see Burgers (1965). For discussion of Lammertijn and his work, see Six (1913B) & (1915); Belonje (1946); Burgers (1965), (1981) & (1993); & Kaptein (1993).

62 PRO LS13/165, 249. In 1607, 'Damask tabling for the King the best', cost 18s per yd.

63 See Chapter 7.2.

64 LS1/59. The tabling cost 28s per yd.

Surprisingly, there are very few, if any, seventeenth-century stock designs personalised for English families. Numbers of these, however, were produced in Haarlem from the middle of the century for noble and regent families in the United Provinces. They often have floral patterns, personalised by the addition of small coats of arms or cyphers in the corner border-transitions (Ill. 9.36). Their apparent absence in England probably reflects the small proportion of damask imports during this period originating in Haarlem, the great majority coming from Kortrijk.

*b) Special stock patterns for the English market*

Stock patterns continued to be woven especially for the English market. A fine example, probably made in Haarlem before 1650 has a view of London with the inscription LONDINIUM BRITANNIA METROPOLIS ET EMPORIUM.<sup>65</sup> A second view of London which has been variously ascribed and dated, is woven in point repeat with at its centre Old St Paul's, as altered by Inigo Jones between 1628 and 1643 (Ill. 9.37). The alignment of the pattern is the same as Jones' sketch of 1638 for the masque 'Brittania Triumphans'.<sup>66</sup> This may be coincidental, for the designer of the damasks seems to have taken the view from Bankside, as illustrated in the frontispiece to James Howell's *Londinopolis* of 1657, and twisted it, so that St Mary Overy in Southwark becomes aligned with the Cathedral.<sup>67</sup> The buildings on the south bank of the river are inaccurately drawn, but there are a number of recognisable features in the City which may be taken from Wenceslaus Hollar's 'long view', first published in Antwerp in 1647.<sup>68</sup> For example, Baynards Castle is shown on the river front close to the rectangular basin of Queen's Hythe, with the Waterhouse to the rear.

The identical view was used on a napkin celebrating the capture of Ghent by the French in 1678 (Ill. 9.38). This was almost certainly woven in Kortrijk which had fallen into French hands in 1677 and where a number of other patterns were produced for the French market. Parts of the London design also occur on napkins of the relief of Vienna in 1683 and the reconquest of Budapest in 1686.<sup>69</sup> The splendid border on the London napkin which has led the piece to be ascribed to Haarlem also occurs on a napkin depicting the continents. However, a similar border design is found on napkins woven in Kortrijk celebrating the capture of Belgrade in September 1688 which seemed to presage the end of the Ottoman presence in Europe (Ill. 9.39).<sup>70</sup> The equestrian figure on this piece represents the

<sup>65</sup> V & A, T39-1982. There is a similar piece with the incomplete inscription, EMPORIUMQUE TOTO ORBE CELEBERRIUM, T38-1982.

<sup>66</sup> Harris (1973), 179, No. 329.

<sup>67</sup> Parry (1980), ill. 74.

<sup>68</sup> Parry (1980), ill. 52-59.

<sup>69</sup> Pauwels & De Jaegere (1986), Nos 95-97. Also see László (1977).

<sup>70</sup> Pauwels & De Jaegere (1986). The Continents, No. 57. Capture of Belgrade, No. 154, this has been ascribed to the Siege of 1717 in several works but the author believes it was woven to commemorate

Hapsburg prince, Joseph, elected King of Hungary in December 1687 and is a copy of an earlier damask portrait of Leopold I. The latter was the subject of a pioneering article by C. A. Burgers tracing the re-use of motifs in the design of linen damasks.<sup>71</sup> This re-use of motifs complicates the dating of a number of pieces from this period. Nevertheless, it seems likely that the London napkin with Old St Paul's was woven in Kortrijk about 1670. Possibly from a few years earlier is a pattern illustrating Charles' flight to France after his defeat at the Battle of Worcester with the inscriptions: PVRSD BY MEN. PRESERVD BY GOD AND THE ROYAL OAKE.<sup>72</sup>

Towards the end of the century, patterns were woven in Kortrijk to celebrate the accessions of James II, and William and Mary, which in view of their style were possibly by the same weaver-entrepreneur (Ill. 9.40). At this time the first German stock design seems to have been made for the English market. It bears a view of London and an equestrian portrait of the King with a poorly woven inscription which should read, 'King William conqueror of his enemies'.<sup>73</sup> Subsequently, a German pattern was produced with a view of London and the seated figure of Queen Anne with crown and sceptre.<sup>74</sup>

During the War of Spanish Succession (1702-1713), the Kortrijk weavers produced perhaps a hundred different designs commemorating its battles, sieges and leading protagonists.<sup>75</sup> Whilst the town was under French occupation, these were for the French market but after the expulsion of French troops in 1706 following the Battle of Ramillies, many patterns were woven for customers in the Low Countries, the Empire and England. Examples of many of these are found in England, particularly those glorifying the feats of the Duke of Marlborough (Ill. 9.41), although a number of designs of the capture of Lille by Prince Eugene are also found. Several of the latter were woven in Germany (Ills 9.42 & 9.43).

### c) *Stock patterns sold in England*

It is very difficult to assess whether English customers purchased a cross-section of the stock patterns available in the Low Countries or exhibited particular preferences. This is owing to the absence, not only of pattern descriptions in seventeenth-century English inventories, but also knowledge of the proportional production of stock patterns within the Low Countries. The range of patterns woven in Kortrijk and their popularity can only be crudely assessed from surviving examples. Fortunately, some light is shed on the product range at Haarlem by two detailed lists of damasks in 1611 and 1650, as well as the very

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the 1688 siege, not only in view of its style but also the incorporation of the arms of Hungary and the cypher of crossed 'J's on the saddlecloth. For details of these campaigns, see Shaw (1976), 218-220.

<sup>71</sup> Burgers (1969).

<sup>72</sup> Ysselsteyn (1962), No. 281 & Ill. 92.

<sup>73</sup> London, Sothebys, 15.5.87, Lot 400.

<sup>74</sup> Ysselsteyn (1962), No. 371 & ill. 113.

<sup>75</sup> Pauwels & De Jaegere (1986), Nos 110-147; Pauwels & De Jaegere (1996), Nos 247-255; Ysselsteyn (1962), Nos 315-370; Mitchell (1985).



extensive inventories of the House of Orange.<sup>76</sup> In 1611, Eleonora van Bourbon-Condé, the wife of Philips Willem, Prince of Orange, her mother-in-law and sister-in-law were presented with quantities of damask, diaper and plain table linen by the States General. The damasks which were supplied by nine different weavers, were of stock patterns, save for four very expensive sets from Passchier Lammertijn.<sup>77</sup> Several of the sets of stock patterns were woven by Quirijn Janssen who subsequently became a leading weaver-entrepreneur in Haarlem. He served as a *Burgemeester*, acquired the soubriquet 'Damast', and died, aged over seventy in 1650, leaving an extensive stock of damask and diaper. This was fully described in his inventory with details of both patterns and quality.<sup>78</sup> The stock patterns listed in these 1611 and 1650 documents are shown in Table 9.6.

TABLE 9.6 SUBJECTS OF HAARLEM DAMASKS IN THE PRESENT TO THE PRINCESSES OF THE HOUSE OF ORANGE OF 1611 AND IN THE INVENTORY OF QUIRIJN JANSZ DAMAST OF 1650  
(Proportions are by area of cloth)

SUBJECT	1611 PRESENT		1650 INVENTORY	
	Proportions (%)		Proportions (%)	
	Subject	Group	Subject	Group;
FLOWERS		24		28
HUNTING		20		7
OLD TESTAMENT				
Susanna	15.6		-	
Daniel	8.1		-	
Nabal & Abigail	12.5		1.0	
Joshua & Caleb	10.3		4.1	
Joseph	-	46	5.8	19
Solomon & Sheba	-		4.9	
Abraham	-		2.5	
Judith & Holofernes	-		1.2	
NEW TESTAMENT	-		15.7	
Annunciation				
Prodigal Son	-	0	0.8	17
Good Samaritan	-		0.2	
Charity	-		0.1	
MYTHOLOGY				
Troy	9.0	9	5.0	22
Orpheus	-		16.9	
MISCELLANEOUS				
Banquet	-		3.8	
Ships	1.3		0.8	
Fish & Crabs	-	1	0.3	7
Farmers	-		1.4	
Knights fighting	-		0.5	
		100		100

76 Drossaers & Lunsingh Scheurleer (1974)\*.

77 Six (1913C). The stock damasks totalled some 3,500 sq.yds.

78 Printed in Six (1910), 29-33. The damasks totalled some 6,500 sq.yds and the diapers 1,700 sq.yds.

Of course, it would be foolish to suggest that either of these documents gives a representative sample of the stock patterns woven in Haarlem. This is particularly the case for the 1611 list which were gifts to the daughter and widow of the Prince of Condé, who had been one of the mainstays of the Huguenot cause in France. Thus the stories of righteous and faithful women such as Susanna and Abigail were very appropriate, as well as that of Daniel which preached against idolatry (Ill. 9.33). *Josue ende Calep mit landt van beloften* tells the story of the return of the scouts who reported on their return from the promised land, 'If the Lord delight in us, then he will bring us into this land, and give it us; a land which floweth with milk and honey'; sentiments that appealed to a people struggling to assert their independence from Spain and devoted to the 'true Religion' (Ill. 9.44).<sup>79</sup> About a quarter of the damasks, however, were of floral patterns and a fifth of hunting scenes. In contrast, Quirijn's inventory has a smaller proportion of hunting patterns which would have had a more limited appeal to the regents and burgers of the Dutch Republic than to princes of the blood. He plainly also had Roman Catholic customers, for almost 16 per cent of his stock depicted the Annunciation. His pattern of ships, *seevaert*, was possibly the same as he had supplied in 1611.

Most of the Old Testament narratives are found in England, but there do not appear to be any Haarlem *Annunciations* which carry the Dutch inscription WEEST GEGROET MARIA.<sup>80</sup> The new patterns of Old Testament stories with long repeats and up to seven registers, mainly woven in Kortrijk, such as the stories of Elijah, Jacob and Esau, and Esther and Ahasuerus, are all found in England. Several of these are dated in the 1630s (Ill. 9.45).<sup>81</sup> New Testament narratives such as the Good Samaritan, Christ and the Woman of Samaria, and John the Baptist are also found with English provenances although, as might be expected, patterns with aggressively Roman Catholic themes such as the symbols of Christ's Passion and the monogram IHS are absent.<sup>82</sup>

There are few English examples of the three main mythological themes of Troy, Orpheus, and Pyramus and Thisbe (Ill. 9.46).<sup>83</sup> Most continental survivals with these patterns seem to have been woven at Haarlem in the second quarter of the seventeenth century, at a period when Dutch damasks imports into London had fallen to a low level.

Surprisingly, few floral patterns are also found in England, whether woven in Kortrijk or Haarlem (Ill. 9.47). It is unlikely that this reflects their absence from the linen drapers' shops of Stuart London but rather to a lack of regard by their owners and the collecting

79 *Holy Bible*, Numbers, 14, v.8.

80 See Pauwels & De Jaegere (1986), No. 12.

81 Ysselsteyn (1962), No. 75, Jacob and Esau, 1631; No. 102, Esther, 1632.

82 In any event, these do not appear to have been woven in great numbers even for the market in the Spanish Netherlands.

83 For discussion of Orpheus theme, see Mitchell (1997B).

policy of national museums. Madeleine Ginsburg's words are very apposite, although applied to an allied field,

What is obvious in any collection of dress is that the clothes will be those of the affluent and that, on the whole, they will be their 'best' clothes, made from expensive materials, too good to cut up and too distinctive to give away or to be sold second hand.<sup>84</sup>

Indeed, one of the few inventories from this period with pattern descriptions, that of the Duke of Lauderdale at Ham House of 1679, largely consists of floral patterns: 'of a large flower and festoone border', 'of Imperiall Crowne' [*Corona* or *Fritillaria imperialis*] and 'of a large rose & Tulip'.<sup>85</sup> In case Lauderdale's Dutch connections might suggest his holdings were untypical, Lady Ossulton's list of linen at Dawly in 1690 comprised in 'figuer'd damask', four tablecloths and six dozen napkins but in 'flower'd damask', six tablecloths and eleven dozen napkins.<sup>86</sup> Several floral damasks with festoons or with cherubs holding baskets and cornucopia, representing the four seasons, which were woven in the last quarter of the century largely in Kortrijk, have appeared in recent years in the London sale rooms (Ill. 9.48).<sup>87</sup>

Lauderdale also owned napery 'of Forrest worke', presumably scenes of the hunt, which were evidently popular in England throughout the seventeenth century and beyond, both from the examples in the Victoria and Albert Museum and the numbers that regularly appear in the auction houses. In 1627, the present of damasks given by the Dutch Church at Austin Friars to the new Lord Mayor was of 'huntinge worke'.<sup>88</sup> Most of these hunting scenes found in England are either of a multi-register hawking and hunting design, first woven in Kortrijk early in the century or a later design of a palace garden with a deer park beyond, containing a 'hunting lodge' (Ills 9.49).<sup>89</sup> Both designs were woven over several decades with suitable alterations in the fashion of both architecture and dress.

During the second half of the century in Holland, finely woven diapers were very fashionable and were found even on the tables of the great. Perhaps this was also the case in England as the Duke of Lauderdale owned a large quantity of 'fine diaper' of various patterns, such as 'of a double rose-worke', 'of Diamond worke' and 'of a medlar blossome'.

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<sup>84</sup> Ginsburg (1984), 14.

<sup>85</sup> 1679 LAUDERDALE. Thornton & Tomlin (1980), 174, imply that 'of Imperiall Crowne' refers to the PLUS OULTRE design with crowns of gold (Ill. 7.12); this seems unlikely in 1679.

<sup>86</sup> PRO C104/82, brown leather notebook.

<sup>87</sup> Phillips, 4.4.1985, Lot 102; Phillips, 23.1.1986, Lot 369; Christie's S.Ken., 7.10.1986, Lot 163.

<sup>88</sup> Guildhall 7396/3, 136.

<sup>89</sup> For discussion of the latter design, see Mitchell (1986).

## 9.4 THE HANOVERIAN PERIOD

### a) *Bespoke and personalised stock patterns*

In 1718, the royal household purchased superfine yard-wide damask napkins for the use of George I. They presumably had the King's cyphers in the corners as their cost was similar to those purchased in Flanders for Queen Anne in 1714.<sup>90</sup> Although none of the Queen Anne napkins appears to have survived, in 1982 the Rijksmuseum Amsterdam bought in London a yard-wide napkin with an eccentric, but fine rendering of the Hanoverian arms with the King's cyphers in the corners (Ill. 9.50).<sup>91</sup> This was plainly commissioned in Kortrijk where similar borders were used between 1697 and 1713.<sup>92</sup> From 1737 the royal household ordered all its damask linen in Ireland (see Chapter 4.4c). The first parcel, costing about £1,000, was received the following year and included two suites 'with the Kings Arms'. A napkin in the Abegg-Stiftung with the Hanoverian arms in the centre surmounted by a small GIIR, the King's cyphers in the corner, and an unusual border with Irish harps in the transitions, presumably formed part of one of these early orders (Ill. 9.51).<sup>93</sup> In 1992, a tablecloth and napkins with the royal arms, said to have been given by George III to his surgeon, were sold in London (Ill. 9.52).<sup>94</sup> From their style and weaving structure, they were woven about 1730 in Saxony, and were presumably commissioned by the electoral household in Hanover which was quite separate from the royal household in England.

Other bespoke damasks woven in Germany include a tablecloth depicting New Park, a fine house at Richmond, Surrey which is the subject of an article by Natalie Rothstein.<sup>95</sup> In the middle of the century, stock German patterns were personalised by the addition of badges or cyphers in the centre or corners, such as a napkin with the Lascelles badge, 'a bear's head, couped erminois, muzzled', which dates from about 1760.<sup>96</sup>

Although there is little evidence to date, it is likely that noble and gentry families in England ordered bespoke damasks in Ireland during the second quarter of the eighteenth century. Two sets survive with the arms of Dudley impaling Newnham with similar borders to the royal GIIR napkin, commissioned for Sir Dudley Ryder and his wife Anne Newnham.<sup>97</sup>

90 LS1/62, Gardrobia, 15<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub>yds per doz at 9s per yd.

91 Christie's S.Ken, 15.6.1982, Lot 48. Recently, Historic Royal Palaces acquired further napkins of this design together with an ensuite tablecloth.

92 Pauwels & De Jaegere (1986), Nos 107, 109, 116, 141 & 145.

93 There is also a splendid tablecloth with the coronation procession of George II, see Lewis & Lamb (1984).

94 Christie's S. Ken., 17.11.1992, Lot 131.

95 Rothstein (1965). V & A, T142-1959.

96 Christie's S.Ken., 14.11.1989, Lot 307.

97 By descent to the Earl of Harrowby. Sir Dudley Ryder was solicitor-general in 1733. The date of this marriage is unknown but a son, Nathaniel, was born in 1735. Also see V & A, T26-1936, napkin with the inscription, MADE FOR MAIOR WILLIAM COPE, OF THE ROYAL DRAGOONS OF IRELAND BY MARY QUIN 1734.

*b) Special stock patterns for the English market*

High tariff barriers erected during the Nine Years War and the War of Spanish Succession discouraged imports of Flemish and Dutch damasks.<sup>98</sup> This was greatly to the advantage of German weavers who began to improve the quality of their production and design. As a consequence, most of the stock patterns after 1714 found both in the Victoria and Albert Museum collection and in the London sale rooms are of German origin. Several patterns were woven for the English market to celebrate the accessions of George I and George II which often include a view of London.<sup>99</sup> There were also views of Covent Garden, a commemoration of the capture of Gibraltar and a pattern with a fine country house, inscribed ENGLISCHES LUSTHAUS.<sup>100</sup>

*c) Stock patterns sold in England*

The burgeoning German industry was most inventive and a wide variety of patterns were woven, including views of major European cities, hunting, mythological and chinoiserie scenes, and depictions of country life, which included agricultural labour and the gentler pursuits of the pleasure garden (Ills 2.8 & 9.53). The growth of the Grand Tour, increasing newspaper circulation, and the comparative cheapness of German damasks clearly produced significant sales of these patterns in London. There are a number of examples of the cityscapes with English provenance, particularly Paris and Amsterdam but also Berlin, Copenhagen, Stockholm and Venice (Ill. 9.54).<sup>101</sup>

Among the few Flemish stock patterns from this period in English collections are views of Rome and Venice, both dated 1722 (Ill. 9.55).<sup>102</sup> In design they both bear a resemblance to a pattern with an equestrian portrait of George I and an inscription in the bottom border I VERCRVISSE FECIT.<sup>103</sup> A Jan Vercruysse was one of the signatories of the accounts of the Guild of St Catharine in Kortrijk in 1708, 1712 and 1722.<sup>104</sup>

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<sup>98</sup> Harte (1973), 77.

<sup>99</sup> These are too numerous to list; there are at least eight in the V & A collection.

<sup>100</sup> For Covent Garden, see Pauwels & De Jaegere (1986), No. 167. Gibraltar, Christie's S.Ken. 11.3.1986, Lot 235. Country House, V & A, T450-1970 & T83-1986.

<sup>101</sup> V & A, T316-1920, Paris; T348-1921, Copenhagen; T5-1923, Stockholm; T278-1927 & T58-1954, Amsterdam; T131-1964, Dresden. For illustrations of Paris, Amsterdam and Zittau, see Pauwels & De Jaegere (1986) Nos 169, 170 & 166.

<sup>102</sup> V & A 95-1971, Venice (Dutch Provenance). For illustration, see Pauwels & De Jaegere (1986) No. 168; Rome, see Pauwels & De Jaegere (1996) No. 269.

<sup>103</sup> V & A, 551-1903 Tablecloth dated 1718, T394-1970 Napkin. For illustration of similar piece, see Ysselsteyn (1962), ill. 115.

<sup>104</sup> Kortrijk, Rijksarchief, OSK 825, 26, 50 & 51.

## 9.5 CONCLUSIONS

Any conclusions to the questions raised in this chapter must be tentative and treated with circumspection, owing to the lack of reliable dating and agreement on the place of manufacture of a number of patterns. An initial attempt has been made to assign a date range to the distinct groups of sixteenth-century damasks, using evidence from both written documents and surviving linens. The use of inventories in this exercise presents some of the problems discussed by other authors for they are few in number and the dates of the listed artefacts are all *terminus ante quam*. Further, some descriptions puzzle the reader - 'with a lyllye pot and a faucon' - as some of the damasks bewildered inventory clerks, one of whom described a set belonging to Alice Smythe as 'all of a confused woork'.<sup>105</sup> As the comparative method is used to determine the date and source of surviving pieces, the lack of detailed information such as weaving structure, embroidered ownership and date marks, provenance, and not least adequate photographs is a major drawback, for of the four largest public collections at the Abegg-Stiftung, Kortrijk Museum, Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, and the Victoria and Albert Museum, only that at Kortrijk has been catalogued so far.

None the less, it is possible to draw some conclusions relating to both changing perceptions of diaper and damask napery and the types of patterns found in England. This chapter started with a fulsome description of the King's tablecloth at the Garter feast at Windsor in 1519. Although elsewhere in his account, the observer was impressed with the fine plate on the six stages of the King's cupboard and on his table, the only piece he detailed was the salt-cellar of 'fine gould sett with pearles': clearly, it was the novelty and magnificence of the tablecloth that caught his attention. The esteem in which such splendid damasks were held is confirmed by the lengthy inventory descriptions of individual cloths with details of their exact sizes, patterns and even ownership and locational marks. However, as they become less rare and eventually commonplace, so these descriptions shorten, so that by the late seventeenth century some inventories simply record 'several chests of Linens', £120.<sup>106</sup> The novelty of linen damask in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries is also demonstrated by the progression in the way it was described, only finally settling on the term 'damask' from about 1550.

During the sixteenth century bespoke designs were woven in the southern Netherlands for the Tudors and several English noblemen. It is likely that stock patterns were also personalised for English customers as there are continental examples from as early as 1530, although the only English example is the tablecloth of 1595 with the story of Jonah and the

<sup>105</sup> 1527 CROMWELL, 'a faucon' or falcon is presumably the dove of the Annunciation. 1593 SMYTHE.

<sup>106</sup> 1675 WENTWORTH.

Whale and a dedication to *le Seigneur Edouard Norreys ... Gouverner d'Ostende*.<sup>107</sup>

At the beginning of the seventeenth century, the States General presented bespoke damasks to James I, Prince Henry and the English Ambassador. There is little evidence of bespoke and personalised stock patterns for English clients during the rest of the century but it would be surprising if a number were not woven, for although few Haarlem damasks were imported in the middle years of the century, the weavers in Kortrijk satisfied such commissions for both Flemish and French customers. In the eighteenth century English commissions were placed in both Ireland and Saxony and while few surviving examples have so far been identified, it is suspected that a number lie undiscovered in private trunks and cupboards. Throughout the whole period from 1450 to 1750, special stock patterns were woven for the English market in all the centres of production, principally Kortrijk, Haarlem, Zittau and Carlow.

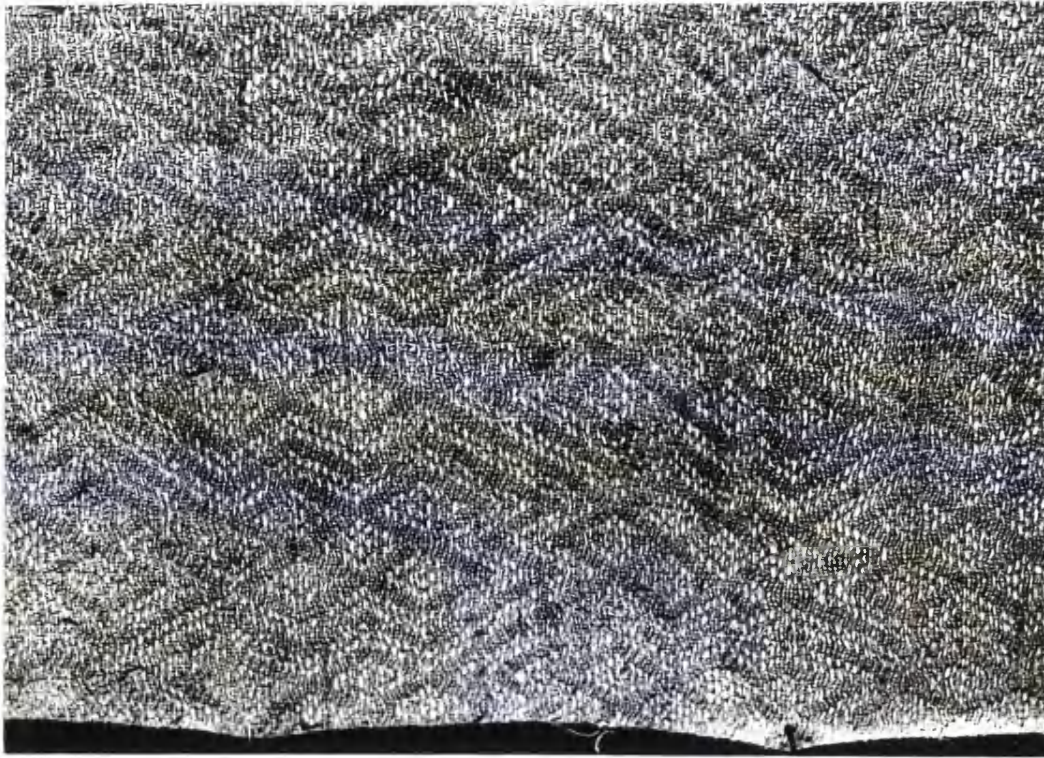
Whether the English market took a cross-section of the stock patterns available in the Low Countries during the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries is difficult to determine without the publication of further studies. After the Reformation there seem to be few damasks sold in England depicting the *Annunciation* or *Resurrection* but both Old and New Testament narratives were clearly popular. It is, of course, ironic that subjects such as the Prodigal Son which preached against the sins of the flesh, or Judith which presented an example of chastity and righteousness, should in part appeal because the stories themselves provided scenes of feasting, rich clothes and fine architecture. In addition, the stories of Susanna and the Elders, and David and Bathsheba had additional possibilities with the depiction of the female nude, although it must be admitted that the erotic potential of linen thread is distinctly limited. The motives for choosing a particular pattern whether worldly, cerebral or spiritual will always be obscure, but from the popularity of subjects such as Abraham and Isaac it is clear that contemporary religious belief played a part for a number of purchasers.

After the Restoration, the popularity of damasks with religious subjects waned. (Although not directly comparable, this seems to have been even more marked than the similar decline described by John Michael Montias in his study of the ownership of paintings in Delft.<sup>108</sup>) From this period, such a variety of stock patterns were produced that at present it is impossible to ascertain English preference save, of course, for those commemorating battles such as Ramillies or Malplaquet with a particular national interest.

<sup>107</sup> For 1530s examples, see Burgers (1986) & Hartkamp-Jonxis (1997). For Norreys tablecloth, Ysselsteyn (1962), No. 14 & ill. 6.

<sup>108</sup> Montias (1982), 242, Table 8.3, 1610-1619, Religious subjects 37%, 1670-1679, 14%.





Ill. 9.1 Fragment of coarse linen diaper. Low Countries, probably 16th century.

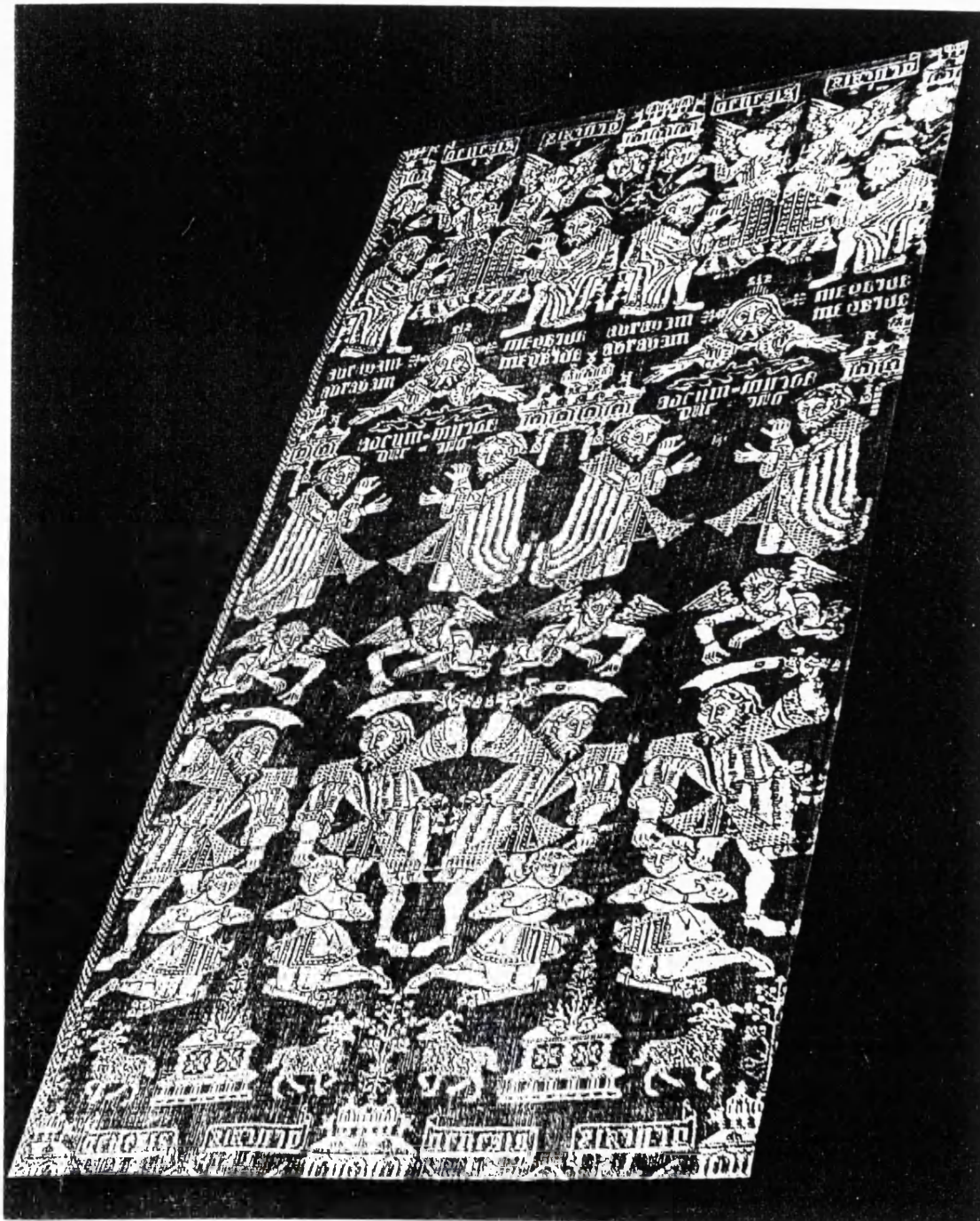


Ill. 9.2 Fragment of linen damask with the arms of France. Kortrijk, 1525-50.  
Satin of 5, narrow point repeat of 8 cm, vertical repeat 16 cm.





III. 9.3 'Table' of boys playing against a 'pineapple' ground (detail of tablecloth). Southern Netherlands, c. 1530.  
Satin of 7, warp 44 th./cm, weft 56-63 th./cm, 4 ells-wide tablecloth with three other different tables.



III. 9.4 Tablecloth with the story of Abraham and Isaac. Kortrijk, 1550-75, 207 by 210 cm (detail).

Satin of 5, point repeat of 34 cm with three main registers and longitudinal repeat of 126 cm, warp 28 th./cm, weft 30 th./cm.





III. 9.5 Detail of diaper tablecloth with cross diamonds. From triptych of *The Last Supper*, oil on wood. Burgundy, 1515.



III. 9.6 Fragment of 'great damask floures' or 'Great damaske worke'. Kortrijk, 1525-50.  
Satin of 5, point repeat of 24 cm, longitudinal repeat of 68 cm, warp and weft 30 th./cm.





Ill. 9.7

Fragment of 'small' damask floures'. Kortrijk, 1525-50.

Satin of 5, point repeat of 9 cm, longitudinal repeat of 12 cm, warp 24 th./cm, weft 32 th./cm.



Ill. 9.8

Fragment of 'knottes and roses in theym'. Kortrijk, c.1520.

Satin of 5, point repeat of 15 cm, longitudinal repeat of 18 cm, warp 30 th./cm, weft 38 th./cm.





Ill. 9.9 Fragment of 'Fleurs de lys crowned'. Kortrijk, first half 16th century.  
Satin of 5, point repeat of 8.2 cm, longitudinal repeat of 4.4 cm, warp 20 th./cm, weft 30 th./cm. The bobbin lace is probably English, c.1550.

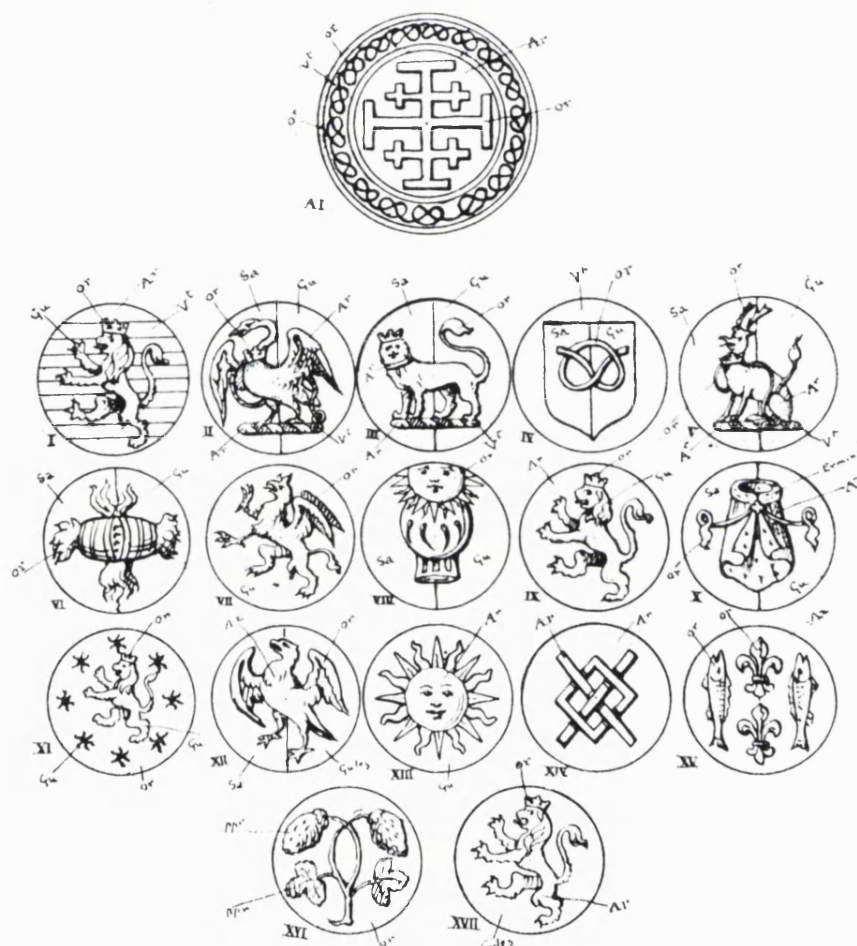


Ill 9.10 Crowned fleurs de lys within knots. Detail from Jan II van Coninxloo (1489-c.1546), *The Marriage at Cana*.



Ill. 9.11 Silver-gilt standing cup, with the devices of Lady Margaret Beaufort, mother of Henry VII. English, c.1500, 24 cm high.





III. 9.12 The Stafford badges. College of Arms, 1720.  
Each badge was bordered by a circle of Stafford knots as shown in AI at top of illustration.

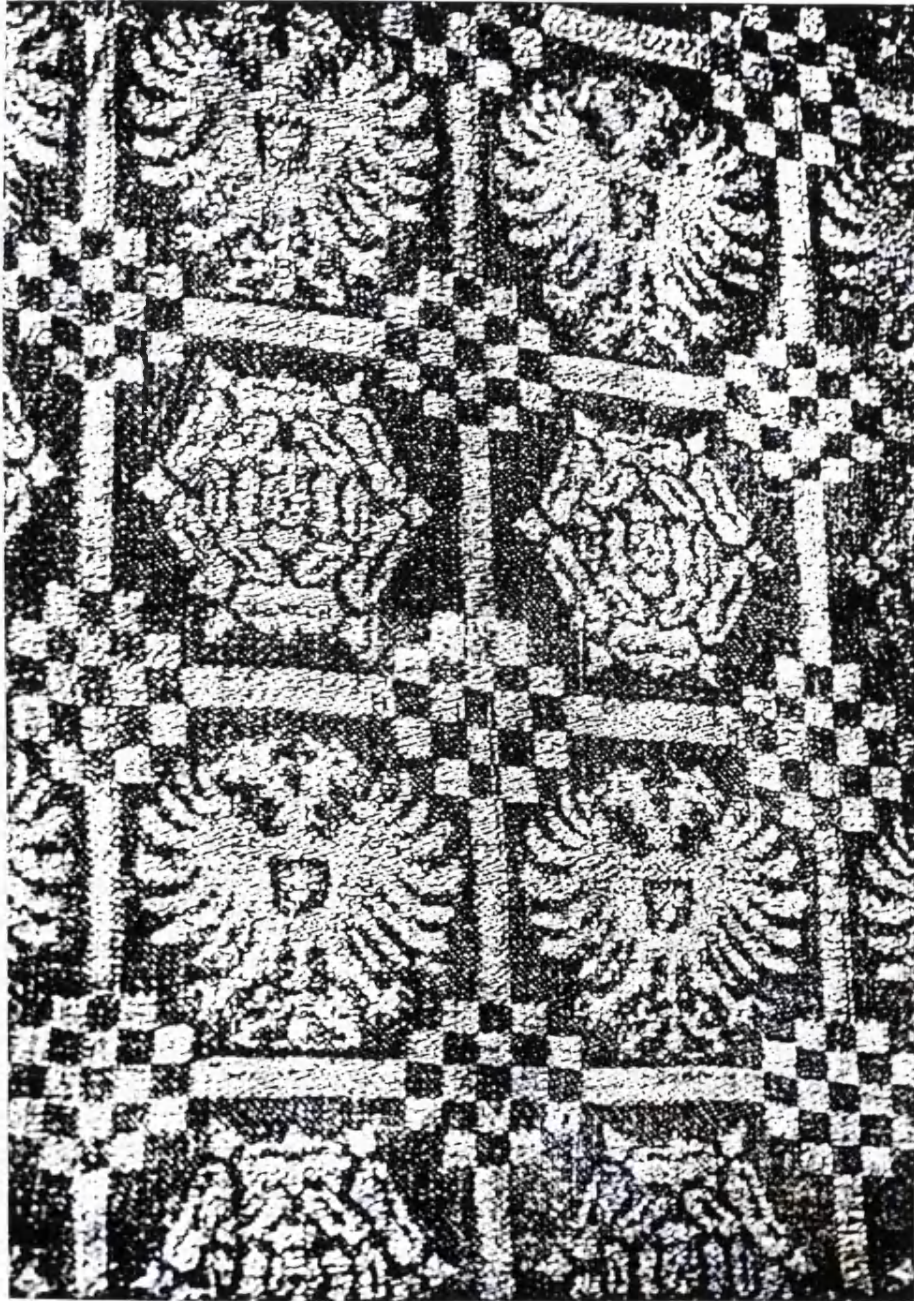


III. 9.13 Napkin with PLVS OVLTRE. Kortrijk, mid-16th century, 70 by 102 cm (detail).  
Satin of 5, unusual transverse repeat of about 10cm, longitudinal repeat of 15 cm, warp 34 th./cm, weft 57 th./cm.



III. 9.14 Plus Oultre pattern on a tablecloth in a painting by Anthonius Claessins, c.1585.  
The motto Plus Oultre between the pillars of Hercules was adopted by the Emperor Charles V, to indicate that the Empire did not stop at the entrance to the Mediterranean.



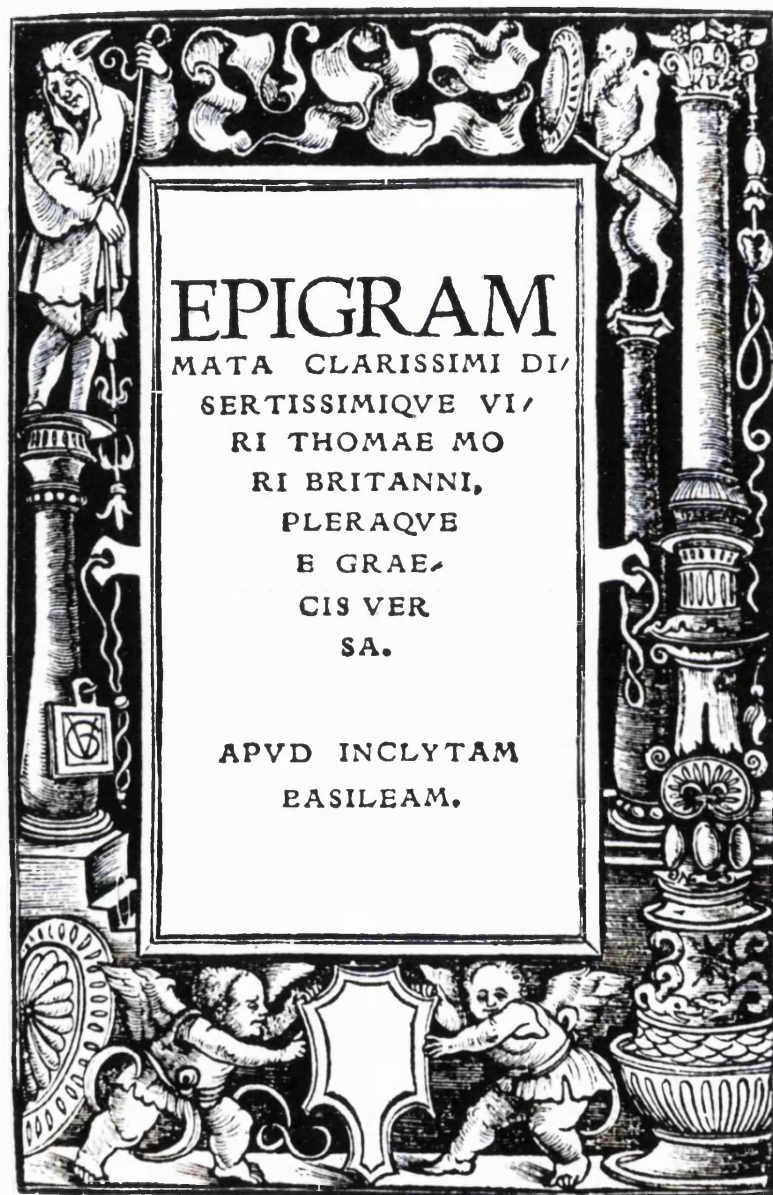


Ill. 9.15      Fragment of roses and eagles. Kortrijk, c.1520.  
Satin of 5, point repeat of 5 cm, longitudinal repeat of 10 cm, warp  
25 th./cm, weft 45 th./cm. (Photograph is approximately the actual  
size.)

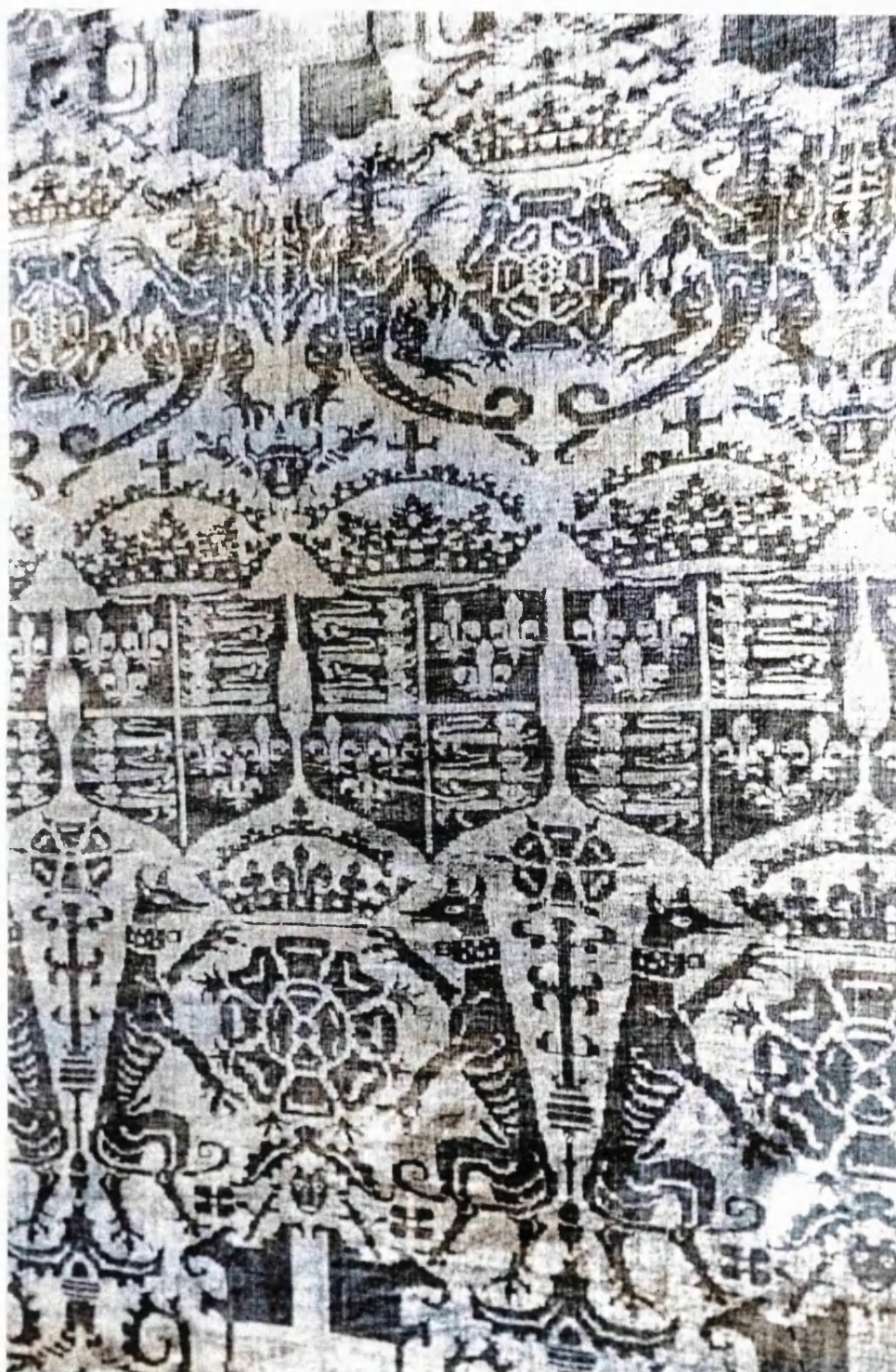


III. 9.16 Napkin with the Tudor arms surrounded by the Order of the Garter. Southern Netherlands, c.1520, 75 by 115 cm.  
Satin of 7, single repeat in both directions.





III. 9.17 Title page of *Epigrammata*, by Thomas More with border decorations by Urs Graf, from the print shop of Johann Froben, Basle, 1518.

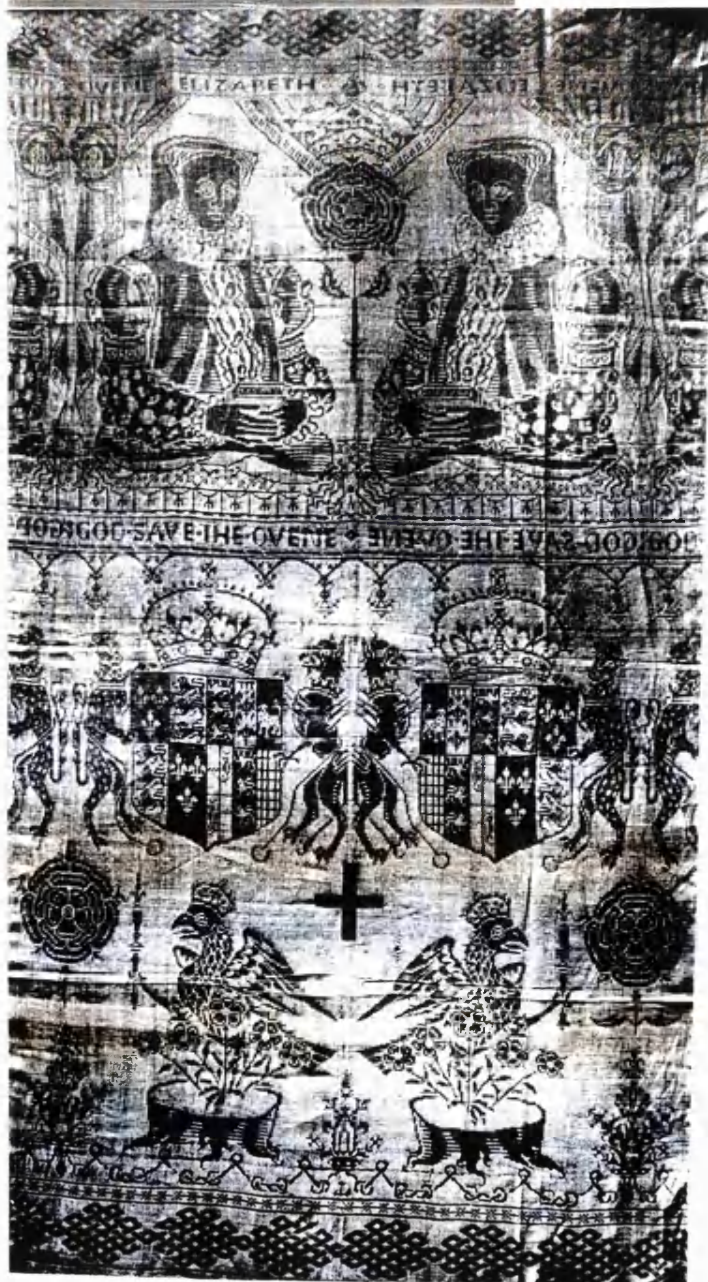


III. 9.18 Tablecloth with Tudor arms and devices. Kortrijk, c.1540.  
210 by 310 cm.  
Satin of 5, point repeat of 35 cm, longitudinal repeat of 71 cm, warp 30 th./cm,  
weft 50 th./cm.





Ill. 9.19  
Engraved portrait of Queen Elizabeth,  
published in Antwerp by  
Hieronymus Cock, 1559.



Ill. 9.20  
Napkin with a portrait of  
Queen Elizabeth and the arms  
of her mother, Anne Boleyn.  
Kortrijk, c.1559.  
This example has three registers in  
the longitudinal repeat.





III. 9.21 Detail of a tablecloth with a 'pomegranate pattern' field and tables of Samson and the Lion (shown above), Abraham and Isaac, and a third damaged table, possibly of Jonah and the Whale. Southern Netherlands, c.1530, 227 by 196 cm, but originally about 280 cm or 4 ells wide.  
Satin of 7, warp 42 th./cm, weft 60 th./cm.





### Ill. 9.22

Napkin with a 'table' of a hunt set against a 'pomegranate pattern' field (identical to that in Ill. 9.21). Southern Netherlands, c.1530, 71 by 117 cm.

Satin of 7, warp 52 th./cm, weft 70 th./cm. This napkin is ensuite with the tablecloth Ill. 9.3 which includes this and three other different tables.

### Ill. 9.23

Detail of the woodcut *The Stag Hunt*. Lucas Cranach the Elder, c.1506.

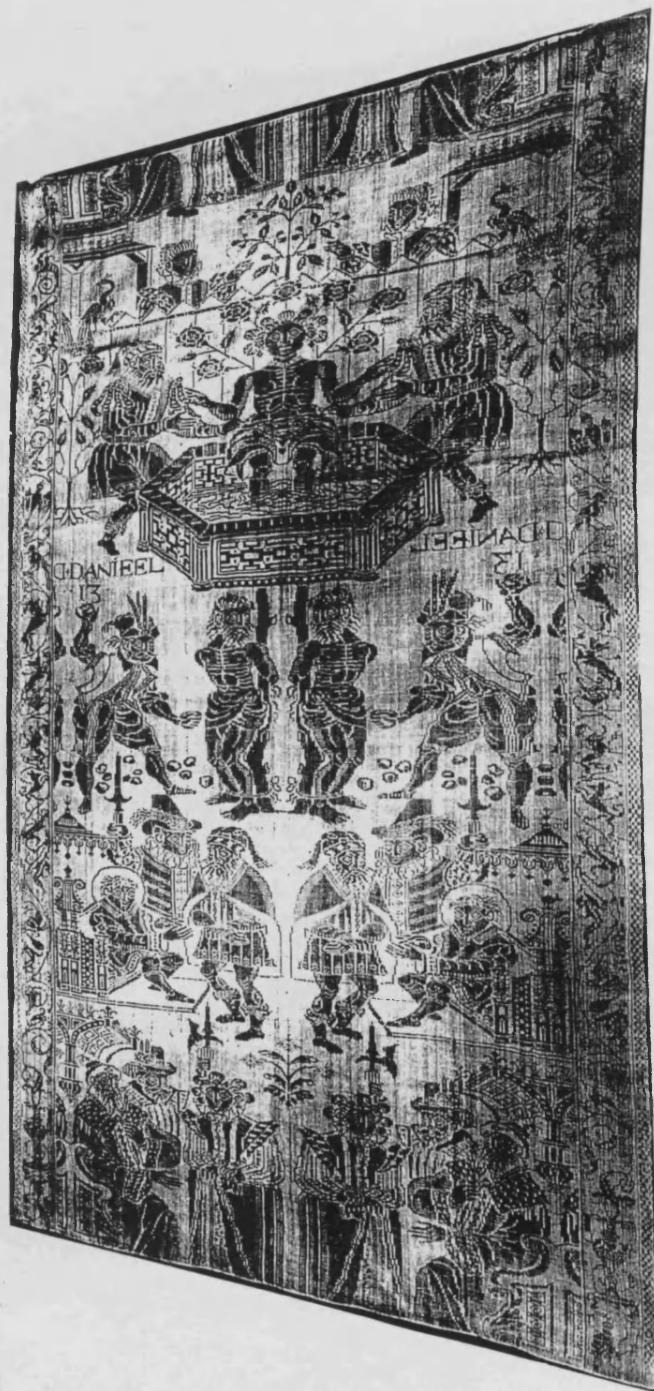






III. 9.24 Napkin of *The Annunciation*. Southern Netherlands, c.1515, 78 by 121 cm.

Satin of 7, warp 40 th./cm, weft 70-75 th./cm. Probably a coverpane (it has lost its gold lace edging) which belonged originally to the Duke of Buckingham and then to Henry VIII.



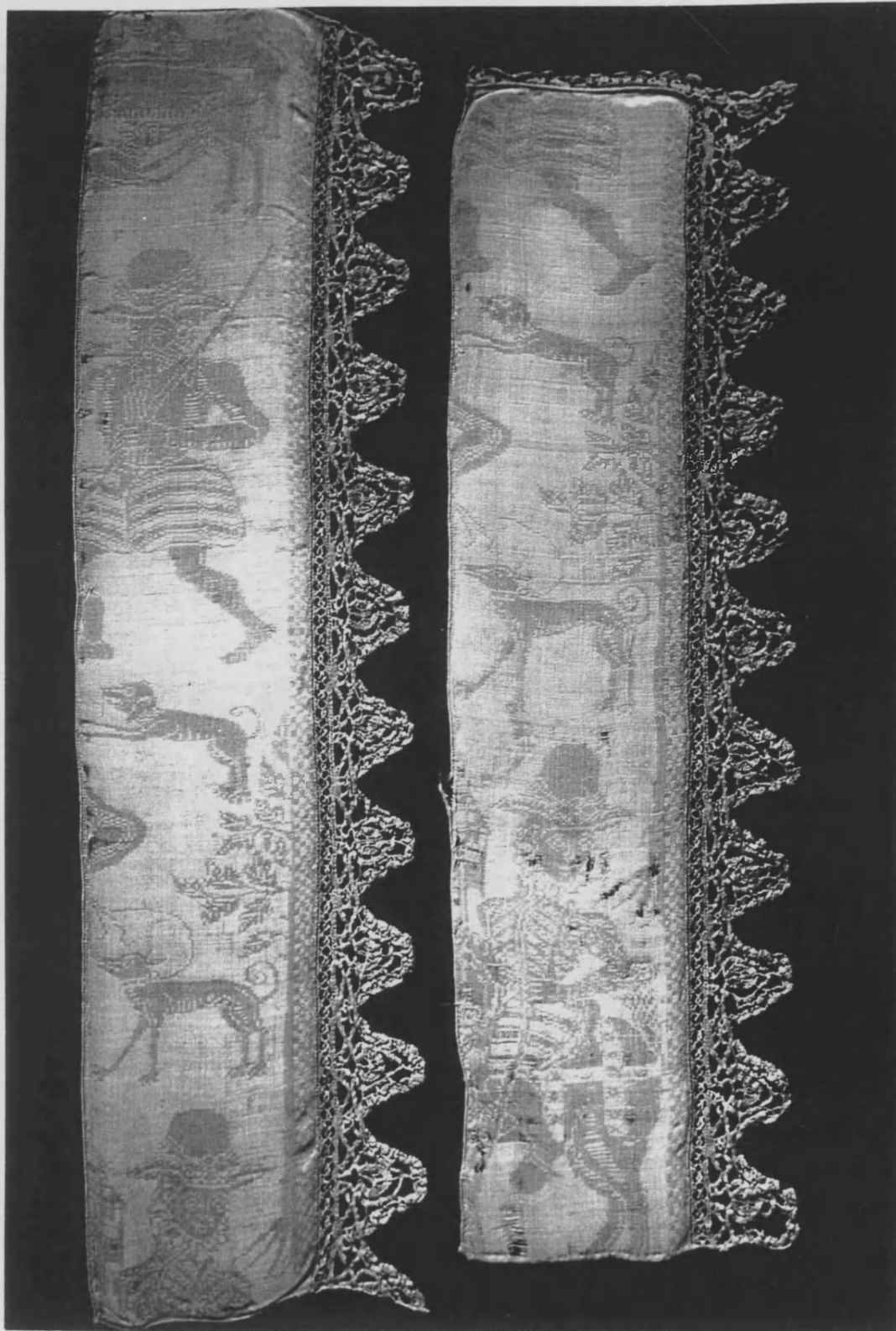
III. 9.25 Napkin with the story of Susanna and the Elders. Kortrijk, c.1585, 68 by 99 cm.

Satin of 5, warp 30 th./cm, weft 48 th./cm. As many stock designs of this period, this napkin has no top and bottom borders, but has been cut to size from a loom piece.





III. 9.26 Tablecloth with the story of the Prodigal Son. Kortrijk, c.1570, 210 by 222 cm.  
 Satin of 5, point repeat of 57 cm, longitudinal repeat of 177 cm, warp 33 th./cm, weft 40 th./cm.  
 Five register design including at the bottom of the cloth the reconciliation of the Prodigal with his father, witnessed by his brother.



III. 9.27 Fragments with hunting scenes. Kortrijk, last quarter of 16th century. Satin of 5, point repeat of 35 cm, longitudinal repeat of 88 cm, warp 36 th./cm, weft 30 th./cm. There is a third, unillustrated fragment cut from across the tablecloth with hounds attacking a stag. The three fragments were joined to make a sheet edging which was trimmed with bobbin lace, possibly English, c.1620.



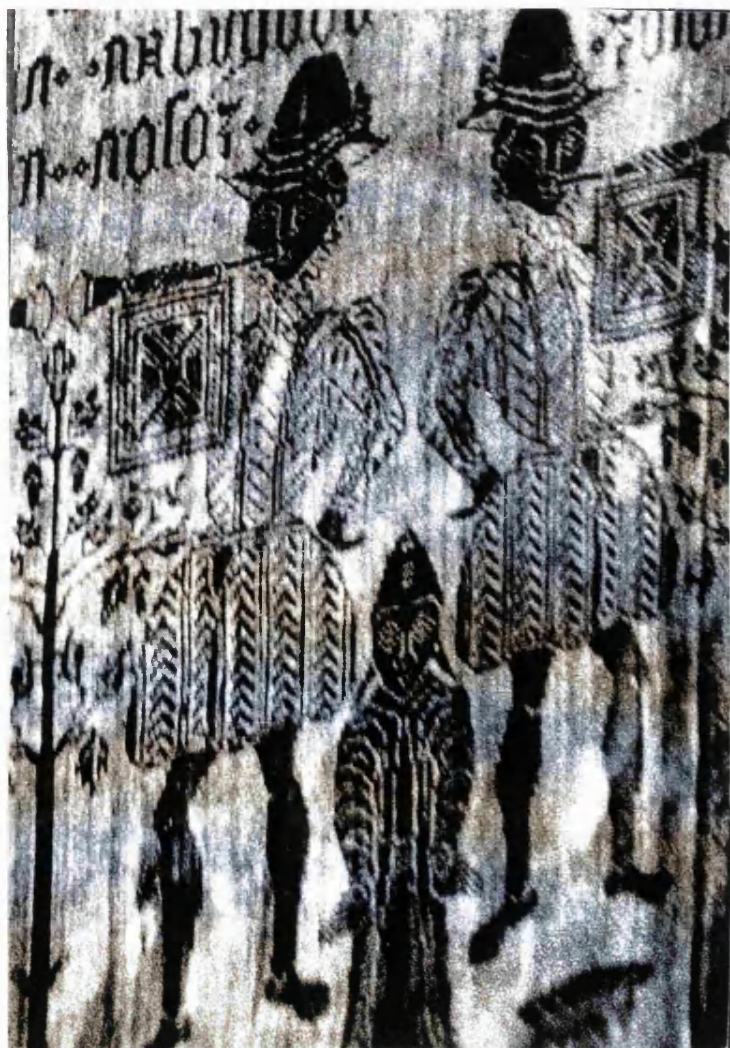


Ill. 9.28 Fragment with grotesques or 'anticke worke'. Kortrijk, mid-16th century.  
Satin of 5, warp 30 th./cm, weft 42-48 th./cm.



Ill. 9.29 Napkin with the story of David and Bathsheba. Kortrijk, mid-16th century,  
71 by 102 cm.  
Satin of 5, warp 28 th./cm, weft 19 th./cm.





Ill. 9.30  
Napkin with the  
'Glorification of the  
Holy Virgin', Kortrijk,  
mid-16th century, 72 by  
99 cm.

Satin of 5, point repeat of  
58 cm, warp 33 th./cm,  
weft 31 th./cm.

Ill. 9.31  
Tablecloth with story  
of Nebuchadnezzar and  
the fiery furnace.  
Detail with the herald  
and the golden idol.  
Kortrijk, c.1570.





III. 9.32 Tablecloth with the story of Nebuchadnezzar and the fiery furnace. Kortrijk, c.1570, 212 by 363 cm.  
Satin of 5, point repeat of 35 cm, longitudinal repeat of 210 cm, warp 29 th./cm, weft 30-32 th./cm.





Ill. 9.33 Napkin with the story of Bel and the Dragon. Haarlem, c.1600, 71 by 100 cm.





Ill. 9.34  
Tablecloth with long  
border with naval scene.  
Karl Thyssen, Royal Silk  
Factory, Copenhagen,  
1621, from an earlier  
design by Passchier  
Lammertijn. Blue silk  
weft, 218 by 408 cm.  
See Ill. 3.18 for detail of field.



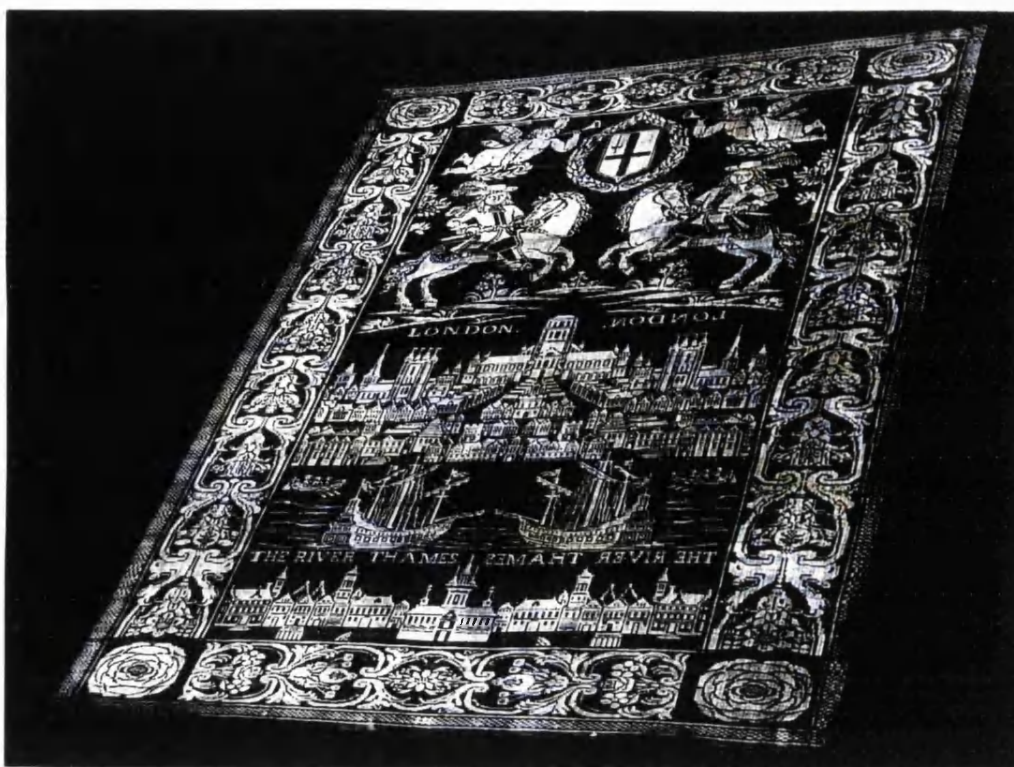
Ill. 9.35  
Detail of long border of  
tablecloth above.  
This scene was used by  
Lammertijn on the set of linen  
given to Henri IV, King of  
France and Navarre in 1604,  
which explains the ensigns.  
However, the design was taken  
from an engraving of the  
English actions against the  
Spanish Armada in 1588.





III. 9.36 Napkin with floral pattern personalised with the arms of Rijckaert-Bartolotti van den Heuvel, in the corner transitions. Haarlem?, 1660-70, 82 by 116 cm. This may be a similar pattern to the damasks described in the Duke of Lauderdale's inventory of 1679, as 'of Imperial crowne', for the design is dominated by a *Corona imperialis*.





III. 9.37 Napkin with view of London. Kortrijk, c.1670, 90 by 117 cm.  
Satin of 5, point repeat of ensuite tablecloth 52 cm, longitudinal repeat of 74 cm,  
warp 34 th./cm, weft 37 th./cm.



III. 9.38 Napkin with 'view' of Ghent [Gand in French]. Kortrijk, 1678, 82 by 106 cm.  
Satin of 5, warp 31 th./cm, weft 32 th./cm.





III. 9.39 Napkin with the capture of Belgrade. Kortrijk, c.1688, 90 by 117 cm. Satin of 5, warp 32 th./cm, weft 33 th./cm. The crossed 'J's on the saddlecloth and the arms of Hungary indicate the equestrian figure is Joseph, elected King of Hungary in 1687.



Ill. 9.40 Fragment of tablecloth celebrating the accession of William and Mary. Kortrijk, 1689.

Satin of 5, point repeat of 60 cm, longitudinal repeat of 107 cm, warp 32 th./cm, weft 36 th./cm.



Ill. 9.41 Napkin with the siege of Menen. Paesschael Staes, Kortrijk, 1706, 81 by 108 cm.

Satin of 5, warp and weft 32 th./cm.

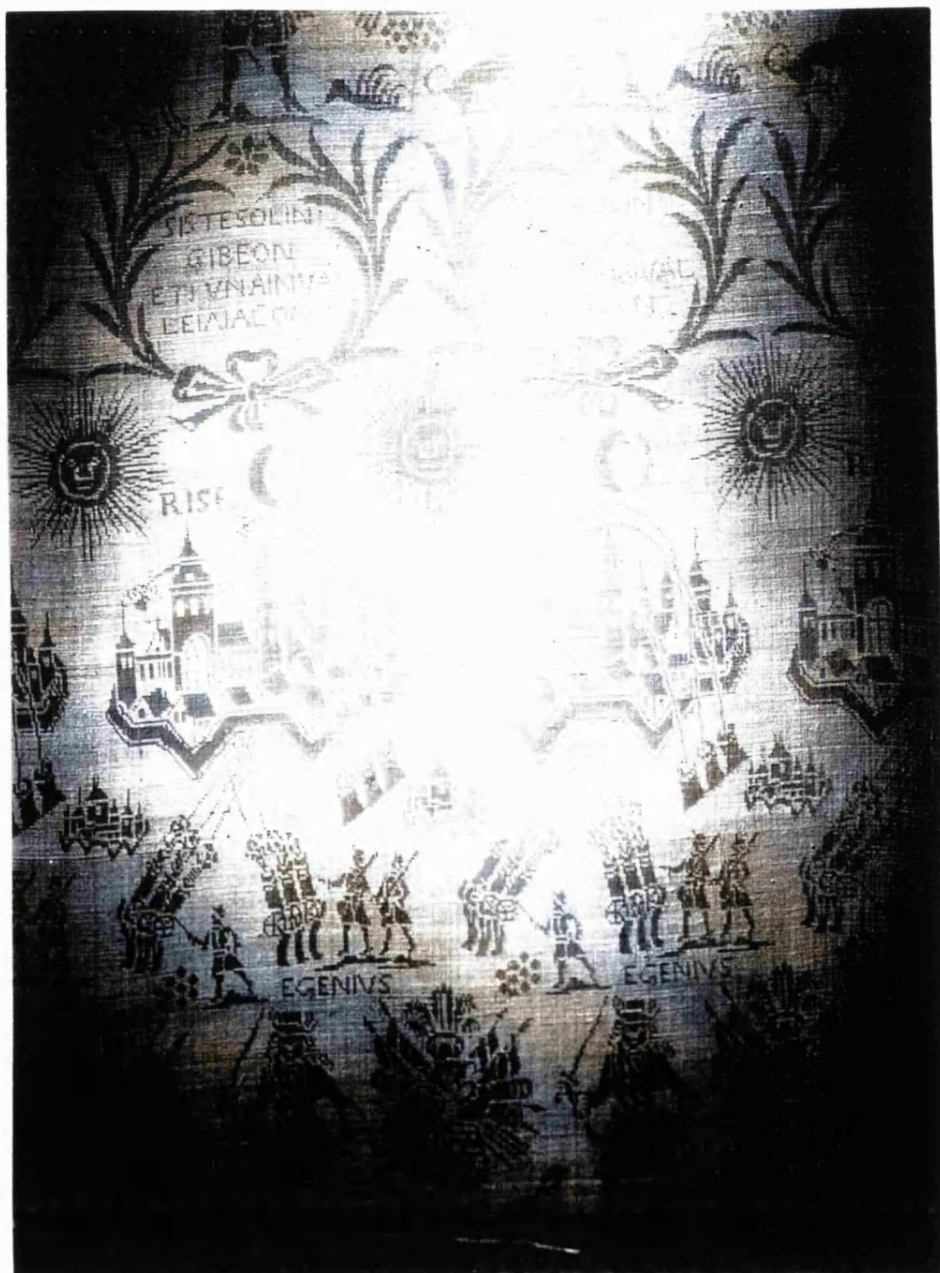




### Ill. 9.42

Medal celebrating the capture of Lille [Rijssel in Dutch] by the Allies, 9th December 1708. Gaspard Theophile Lauffer?, Nuremberg, c.1708.

The biblical quotation implies that Eugene is another Joshua and God orders the Sun (Louis XIV) and the Moon (France's allies) to stand still, whilst the city is taken.



### Ill. 9.43 Tablecloth fragment of the capture of Lille by Prince Eugene. Saxony, 1709.

Its design shares several features with the Nuremberg medal.

Satin of 5, comber repeat of 26 cm longitudinal repeat of 88 cm, 30 th./cm, weft 25 th./cm. This version is unusual in depicting Eugene on foot rather than mounted.



III. 9.44 Napkin with the return of the scouts from the Promised Land. Probably the Kortrijk version of this story, early 17th century, 72 by 95 cm. Satin of 5, point repeat of 57 cm, warp 29 th./cm, weft 32 th./cm.



III. 9.45 Detail of tablecloth with the story of Esther and Ahasuerus. Kortrijk, 1632, 281 by 297 cm. One of the seven registers with Mordecai sitting at the King's gate (dated 1632) and Haman swaggering past. Satin of 5, point repeat of 51 cm, longitudinal repeat of 209 cm, warp 30 th./cm, weft 35 th./cm. Said to have belonged to Oliver Cromwell.





III. 9.46 Napkin with the story of Orpheus. Haarlem, c.1655, 75 by 107 cm.  
Satin of 5, point repeat of 48 cm, warp 33 th./cm, weft 46 th./cm. Embroidered ownership mark and date, TTP/1655.



III. 9.47 Napkin with flowers, fruit and birds. Kortrijk?, c.1650, 71 by 99 cm.  
Satin of 5, point repeat of 58 cm, warp 30 th./cm, weft 37 th./cm.



III. 9.48  
Detail of tablecloth with the  
four seasons. Kortrijk,  
c.1675.

Satin of 5, point repeat of 51 cm,  
longitudinal repeat of 125 cm, warp  
and weft 30 th./cm.



III. 9.49 Napkin with scenes of hawking and hunting. Kortrijk, first half 17th century,  
72 by 90 cm.

Satin of 5, point repeat of 58 cm, warp and weft 33 th./cm.





Ill. 9.50 Napkin with 'Hanoverian' arms and GR cyphers. Kortrijk, c. 1718, 90 by 118 cm.



Ill 9.51  
Napkin with  
Hanoverian  
arms, cyphers  
and GIIR  
(either side  
of crest). Irish,  
probably  
Carlow, c.1740  
87 by 108 cm.



III. 9.52 Napkin with Hanoverian arms. Saxony, c.1730, 82 by 106 cm.  
Satin of 8, warp 36 th./cm, weft 36-40 th./cm (technical details from example  
sold at Christie's, S. Ken., 17.11.1993, Lot 131).



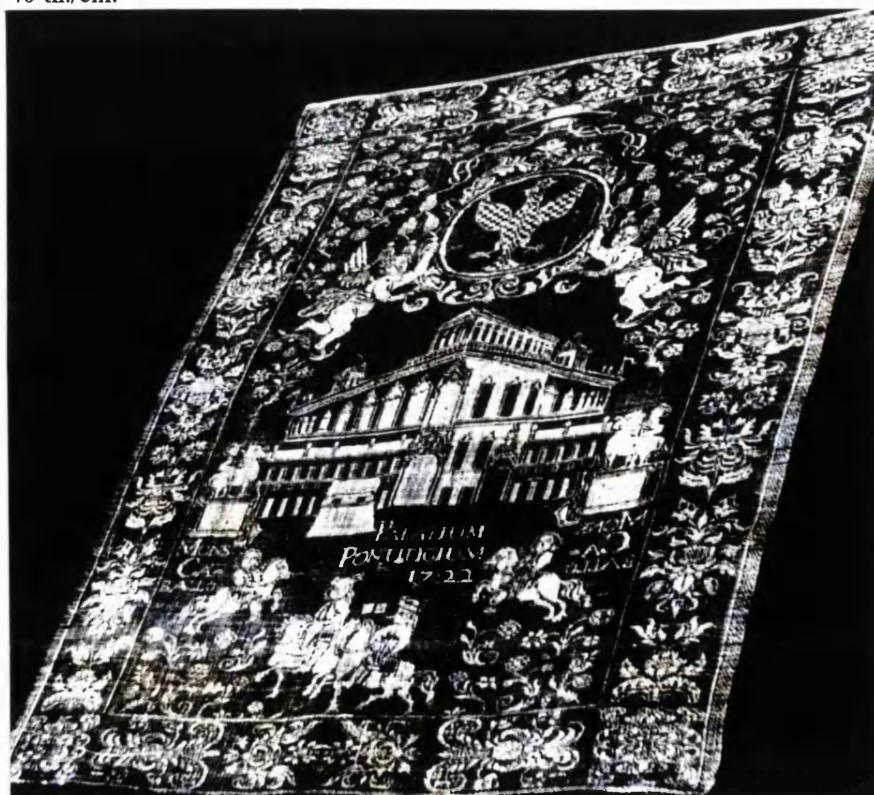
III. 9.53  
Napkin with Venus  
and Cupid, AMOR.  
Saxony, c.1730, 80 by  
91 cm.  
Satin of 8, warp and weft  
38 th./cm.  
The *laub und bandelwerk*  
border with clipped trees  
and baskets of flowers are  
very similar to Kumsch  
(1891)\*, Tafel 7.4.





III. 9.54 Tablecloth with equestrian figure of Frederick III, Elector of Brandenburg, crowned King of Prussia in 1701, and a view of Berlin. Saxony, c.1710, 218 by 218 cm.

Satin of 8, comber repeat of 21 cm, longitudinal repeat of 55 cm, warp 36 th./cm, weft 40 th./cm.



III. 9.55 Napkin with the PALATIUM PONTIFICIUM, now the Quirinale Palace in Rome. Kortrijk, possibly Jan Vercruisse, 1722, 83 by 100 cm.

Satin of 5, warp 30 th./cm, weft 27 th./cm.

## CHAPTER 10 GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

*Luxury [is the] spreading Contagion which is the greatest corrupter of Publick Manners and the greatest Extinguisher of Publick Spirit'.<sup>1</sup>*

- John Dennis, 1711

The initial programme for this thesis was to examine damask and diaper table linen in England from every aspect - demand, supply, distribution, ownership, cost, and design - using both written documents and surviving artefacts as evidence. This integral approach was adopted for three main reasons. Firstly, additional insights might be gained through the connections between these different aspects, such as demand and supply, or patterns of ownership and cost. Secondly, comparisons could be drawn between the behaviour of merchants, linen drapers and customers when concerned with a high-value commodity rather than mass-volume goods, and parallels and contrasts observed between linen damasks and other luxury wares. Thirdly, the detailed understanding of the types and costs of damask, diaper and plain table linens might question or confirm the findings of other authors such as Weatherill and Shammas who have dealt with household linens as a group.

The thesis has other links to these authors, for it employs the investigative method implicit in Shammas' question, '*Who consumed what and when?*', although applied more widely to supply and distribution as well as consumption.<sup>2</sup> It is also predicated upon Weatherill's notion, 'that material goods were . . . indicative of behaviour and attitudes . . . [and] had symbolic importance as well as physical attributes and practical uses', and Porter's view that 'every object bears a meaning and tells a story'.<sup>3</sup> Thus the quasi-liturgical values attached to certain cloths are discussed and the changing 'worth' of linen damask as reflected in its mode of description in inventories and wills. The thesis sheds little light, however, on *why* consumers behaved in certain ways and provides insufficient material to test the theories used to explain 'consumption'. In an article critical of Veblen's theory of conspicuous consumption, Colin Campbell states that,

Where conduct is the subject of dispute and debate, and even more, the object of conflicting moral views, then it is extremely unlikely that individuals would be able to engage in it in an unthinking and habitual manner. On the contrary, they are probably only too aware of the need to justify what they are doing. From this it can be seen that . . . the consumption of 'luxury' goods, is a highly suitable subject for the interpretative method.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cited in Porter (1993), 58.

<sup>2</sup> Shammas (1993), 177.

<sup>3</sup> Weatherill (1988), 5. Brewer & Porter (1993), 2.

<sup>4</sup> Campbell (1993), 43.

Unfortunately linen damasks do not appear to be a 'suitable subject', for although they were included among 'certain Necessary and Unecessary Wares brought into London: the overquantity whereof most lamentably spoileth the Nation yearly', it was exaggerated fashions in clothes and to a lesser extent cuisine which became the principal targets for the outpourings against 'luxury' and conspicuous consumption.<sup>5</sup> Campbell makes the further point that 'motives' are inextricably linked to available 'vocabularies'.

This means that although the actual motives and intentions which guided the real historical persons are not available for study, the material from which these meanings were constructed is: for it is embodied in the surviving cultural record such as diaries, novels, letters, autobiographies, histories and even dictionaries.<sup>6</sup>

Direct references to napery are extremely rare in such sources and have thus been of limited help in outlining possible motivations. The types and sizes of cloths among the napery holdings of the nobility, gentry and elite merchants seem to be directly linked to dining ceremony and the size and nature of the household. Whether particular cloths were made of damask, diaper or plain linen apparently depended upon wealth and metropolitan connections. There is little evidence that social emulation played a major part in the acquisition of different sorts of napery among these groups.

Although conclusions relating to particular aspects of the study have been included in each chapter, it is appropriate to consider how these reflect upon wider issues. The study of dining ceremony throws into relief ideas of continuity and change. There has been a perception that little changed during the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. This has resulted from the studies of dining relying heavily upon household books and contemporary accounts which described the dining-in-state of king or nobleman. Superficially, some aspects of dining ceremony did indeed remain unaltered for coronation and Garter feasts for some three hundred years. However, dining in state increasingly gave way to dining privately which in turn responded markedly to changes in social and cultural attitudes. These changes reflected by contemporary commentators are highlighted in the linen holdings, furniture and plate listed in probate and household inventories. Indeed, powerful indications are given of specific changes in dining practice by tracking cloths such as 4 ells-wide tablecloths, double long towels, or banquet napkins.

It is also clear that the organisation and perception of space within the dining chamber altered radically. During the second half of the sixteenth century, dinner was typically served at a rectangular table with a few diners seated on one side facing the axis of the chamber, along which processions of gentlemen servants would bring the dishes. To one

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<sup>5</sup> PRO, SP12/8/31, 1559-60.

<sup>6</sup> Campbell (1993), 44.

side was placed a cupboard displaying several tiers of splendid plate. After two courses consisting of a number of dishes, the banquet, essentially the dessert course, was served in a separate small banqueting house. A hundred years later, the diners were typically seated around an oval table, no longer visually linked to the public space but looking inwards, engaged with the visual delights of the table and in conversation with their fellows. The servants, no longer of gentle birth, had become 'invisible'. The dessert course was now served at table and although drinks were still served from cupboards, these were now flat sideboards and much of the finest plate began to be displayed in the form of tureens and centrepieces, on the table itself. Thus the dining table became increasingly three-dimensional and even the napkins were pinched or folded into exotic shapes.

By 1700, only tablecloths and napkins were required as developments in dining ceremony and the advent of the fork had rendered redundant the former array of long and short towels, cupboard cloths, arming towels, coverpanes and banquet napkins. The changes even impinged upon the pattern layout of napkins. For instance those made for the Emperor in 1528, designed to be worn over the shoulders of the gentlemen servants, had the Imperial arms countercharged so that they were displayed correctly front and back, whereas those for the Princess Royal in 1660 had her arms woven athwart so that they could be seen when the napkin was placed across the lap.

In terms of supply, the pattern of importation of damask and diaper table linen responded to international events as well as to English demand. Until the second quarter of the eighteenth century, the best quality damasks available in England were woven in either Flanders or Holland. Before the Restoration, these damasks represented some 8 per cent of the total imports of damask and diaper napery, with the remainder being almost equally divided between diaper woven in either the Low Countries or Germany. Among other luxury commodities such as plate, the best quality wares in the latest fashion also constituted a small proportion: for example of the 16,000 oz of plate sold by Edward Backwell in 1663 less than 10 per cent was in the 'new fashion'.<sup>7</sup>

After the Restoration the quantities of Flemish and Dutch damask remained at a similar level but as a proportion it fell to about 2 per cent as the overall quantities of damask and diaper napery increased more than threefold. It may be that the quantities of damasks imported were significantly higher than recorded in the Customs records for there was much contemporary comment on the level of smuggling, by running linens into coves along the south coast and by passing off Flemish and Dutch linens as German. Large scale organised fraud of this nature within the Port of London took place during the embargo on French linens in the 1680s, when French diaper was entered as Sletia diaper. These French diapers seem to have provided strong competition to those from the Low Countries

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7 Mitchell (1995B), 14. Also see Mitchell (1994).



whereas the huge growth in imports of Sletia damask and diaper fuelled an expansion in the market with 'traditional' customers increasing their overall holdings of figured table linens and new customers among the 'middling sort' entering the market for the first time. In the eighteenth century Flemish and Dutch damasks were successfully challenged in England by damasks of much improved quality from both Ireland and Germany. At the same time Irish diapers and English huckabacks began to compete successfully with Sletia diapers.

The English market was an interesting barometer of the rise and fall of the fortunes of the damask weavers in Kortrijk and Haarlem. Generally these reflected 'conventional wisdom' such as the competitive advantage of the luxury textile trades in the United Provinces consequent upon the economic chaos in Flanders at the end of the sixteenth century; the revival of Flemish fortunes during the Twelve Years Truce resulting in severe depression in the Haarlem trade by the 1640s; and the repercussions of the Year of Disasters for the Republic in 1672.<sup>8</sup> None the less, there is an interesting difference during the Truce in the market for Haarlem damasks in contrast to diapers. Soon after its signing in 1609, English imports of Dutch diapers ceased in favour of Flemish products but it took several years before the market for Haarlem damasks was eroded. This points to the success of entrepreneurs like Passchier Lammertijn, aided by State and City patronage, in establishing a market and reputation in England. In part, it justifies the efforts of the Haarlem damask weavers in differentiating their products in terms of weaving and design quality from those of Kortrijk, with which they could not normally compete in terms of price.

The study of the merchants importing table linens reinforces acknowledged views of the importance of methods for reducing risk, including high degrees of specialisation and strong trading networks. In the case of merchant strangers dealing in linens who were largely confined to driving an import trade from the Low Countries and Germany, such networks were found to be particularly important. They were established on the continent through links with co-religionists and ties of kin, and in London through training, marriage and close involvement in the affairs of the Dutch Church. Indeed the merchant strangers' slow integration into the mainstream of English commercial life was in part owing to the necessity of reinforcing their trade networks in these ways. Even after the Restoration when the constraints against their involvement in City government and the chartered companies had been largely removed, several leading merchants from stranger families continued their 'traditional' trade, possibly as a result of a competitive advantage derived from these networks. Earlier in the seventeenth century, it was also these networks that seem to have enabled merchant strangers to dominate the trade in linens from the United Provinces, in contrast to that with Hamburg where English merchant adventurers were firmly established.

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8 Biesboer (1989), 26.

There is some evidence that when dealing in a luxury commodity, which like linen damask was subject to the vagaries of fashion, close contact with the manufacturer was a distinct advantage. This is exemplified by the principal merchants importing Flemish damasks having family roots in Kortrijk or its surroundings. Similarly in Germany, certain English merchants were directly involved in the production of Sletia diaper, perhaps to more closely control quality but also price and pattern.

Until the eighteenth century little good quality diaper and damask table linen was available outside London, its distribution being largely confined to substantial linen drapers concentrated in either Cheapside or Cornhill. Their biographies reflected the high cost, indicated by Campbell in 1747, of establishing and running a 'genteel' establishment with up to a hundred different lines.<sup>9</sup> In contrast to the overseas merchants from whom they purchased most of their goods, they did not specialise to any extent and hardly any were from stranger families. Unlike other purveyors of luxury goods who during the seventeenth century moved westwards, following the developments of gentry housing, the leading linen drapers largely remained in the City. The principal reasons were possibly that the wholesale element of their trade was very important and that they mainly sold stock articles. The goods of other tradesmen, such as goldsmiths, clockmakers and coachbuilders often contained a significant bespoke element which necessitated detailed discussion with the client, and in addition, needed frequent repair or alteration. In contrast, new sets of damask table linen were purchased only every two or three years, even by the wealthy.

During the sixteenth century, the ownership of damask table linen was confined to the crown, nobility, the wealthiest gentry and the London merchant elite. In addition such households had considerable holdings of diaper and plain napery. Their overall quantities of damask and diaper napery increased considerably during the century but there was little spread of its ownership to other groups. It was not until the huge increase in the quantities of imports of relatively cheap Sletia damask and diaper after the Restoration that figured napery was widely found on the tables of the middling sort. The substantial increase in the holdings of costly linens by the elite during the sixteenth century can be explained by the rate of inflation in the cost of plate which was much lower than that of other luxury goods. This, in part, provided groups that habitually owned significant quantities of plate with potentially spare cash to purchase the abundance of goods observed by William Harrison and others in wealthy Elizabethan households.

The increase in the range and quantity of goods found in English inventories during the second half of the seventeenth century has been attributed by a number of authors to a fall

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9 Campbell (1747)\*.

in unit prices of certain goods and the introduction of cheaper substitutes. It was found that the expansion in the ownership of figured napery fitted this pattern, for the 'real' costs of Low Countries damask and diaper declined and first Sletia diaper - described in 1589 as 'counterfett diaper' - and then Sletia damask and huckaback (or 'English diaper'), provided inexpensive alternatives. One puzzle that remains, however, is the marked erosion of the price differential between 'Holland' damask and diaper during the third quarter of the seventeenth century. This coincided with an apparent fashion in the use of very fine quality diapers on the tables of the great, which has to date attracted little comment.

Until the Civil War, great households were largely the preserve of men, although the care of table linen and particularly the laundry was the responsibility of women from the sixteenth century and possibly earlier. Within the royal household, the table laundress ran a large operation involving a number of staff and considerable responsibility, especially when the riding household was with the king on campaign. Rather than a skilled artisan, she could be considered a professional manager who during the seventeenth century had a similar status but a larger earning potential than the male heads of some of the other offices within the Lord Steward's department. In other households without a ewery run by male officers, women held the keys to the linen presses and trunks. These links were reflected in the wills of noble and gentlewomen who often described in loving detail individual damask cloths. Such bequests are rarely found in the wills of their husbands.

With regard to pattern, bespoke and personalised stock designs with arms, cyphers and inscriptions were produced for English customers at different periods in Flanders, Holland, Germany and Ireland. Stock patterns woven especially for the English market were also produced in the Low Countries and Germany. These incorporated a field with a subject to appeal to the English customer such as a portrait of Queen Elizabeth, a view of London or one of the Duke of Marlborough's victories. The layout of the pattern, however, and the motifs in the borders were typical of the place of manufacture, be it Kortrijk, Haarlem or Zittau. In terms of the sale of ordinary stock designs in London, the evidence of religious preference for particular Old and New Testament stories was not pronounced, although after the Reformation patterns strongly identified with Rome, such as the *Annunciation* or the *Symbols of the Cross* seem to have been rare as surviving examples are seldom found with English provenances.

Conclusions as to the changing 'worth' or 'value' of linen damasks are very difficult to draw for ideally it is necessary to delve into the thoughts of individual men and women. The problems are similar to those in determining the motives of consumers when buying particular goods: a dangerous matter of presumption and inference. None the less, certain changes in both dining ceremony and the ways of describing damasks point to changes in perception. Firstly, the quasi-liturgical values attached to certain cloths during the fifteenth

and sixteenth centuries were no longer apparent thereafter, although the strong, though seldom defined connection between purity and clean white linen persisted, whether it was to cover a dining table, an altar, a bed or a back.<sup>10</sup> Secondly, early damasks when new and novel were described meticulously by contemporary commentators and inventory clerks. The latter sometimes included details of the pattern and exact dimensions of each cloth, as well as its valuation. By the eighteenth century when damask napery had become commonplace among certain classes and less expensive in real terms, holdings of damasks were sometimes simply valued as a lot, without noting even the numbers of tablecloths and napkins.

Nevertheless, despite this apparent lack of regard, their care and stewardship within the household remained diligent. Further they could be both treasured as heirlooms and loved for the delight of their patterns; as late as 1748, Lady Ann Paul left her chambermaid money and goods including her household linen, 'except the fine old damask that was my mothers the pattern of boys turning a wine press'.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> Vigarello (1988). For cleanliness and godliness, see Schama (1987), 375-397.

<sup>11</sup> Cited in Pointon (1997), 361.

## APPENDIX A INVENTORY SAMPLE

### NOTES

- DATE**
- Generally the date written by the clerk at the beginning of the inventory.
  - If missing, either the date the inventory was exhibited or the date of the will.
  - In a few cases, indicated by 'c', a date has been deduced from other evidence.
- NAME**            Family names are spelt in accordance with the inventories.
- STATUS/  
OCCUPATION**
- The object of including this category is to indicate the range of individuals included in the sample.
  - In a minority of inventories, occupational titles are given.
  - For the rest assumptions are made based on the nature of trade goods, creditors and debtors.
  - For those engaged in agriculture, who are not defined as Esq., Gent., Yeoman or Husbandman, the modern description 'Farmer' is used.
  - For London merchants and tradesmen whose occupation is unclear, their livery company is given in capitals (thus 'MERCER' indicates membership of the Mercers' Company, but 'Mercer', the trade).
  - Clergymen are referred to as 'Clerks' unless a specific description such as 'Canon' or 'Parson' is used in the inventory.
- PLACE**
- The object of including this category is to indicate the geographical range of the sample.
  - Where sufficiently well known, place names are used, but otherwise the county.
  - Only one place name is used for each individual, but it should be remembered that the wealthy had several houses. This is not only the case for the nobility and wealthy gentry, but also the London merchant elite who had 'country' houses at such places as Chelsea and Stepney.
- REFERENCE**
- Manuscripts are prefixed by abbreviations referring to the record office where they are kept (listed in GENERAL NOTES at the beginning of this thesis), i.e. PRO, BL, V & A, SG, etc. The exceptions are 'Prob.', which refers to the various classes of probate inventories from the Prerogative Court of Canterbury kept at the Public Record Office, and 'Orphans Court' which refers to the inventories kept at the Corporation of London Record Office. Further details are given in Bibliography - Manuscript Sources.
  - Individual inventories included in Printed Sources use the same referencing system as the footnotes, i.e. Nichols (1841)\* refers to an author's work listed in the Bibliography under Primary Printed Sources and Chute (1888) under Secondary Printed Sources.
  - Abbreviated references for inventories published in archaeological and historical journals and London Livery Companies are listed below.

REF.	JOURNAL
American Ph.	Proceedings of American Philosophical Society
Arch.Cant.	Archaeologia Cantiana, Journal of the Kent Archaeological Society
Arch.Jn.	Archaeological Journal
Assoc.Arch.	Associated Architectural Societies, Reports and Papers
Banbury	Banbury Historical Society
Bedford	Bedfordshire Historical Record Society
Bodleian Rec.	The Bodleian Library Record
Br.Arch.Assn Jn.	Journal of the British Archaeological Association
Bristol Rec.	Bristol Record Society
Bucks Rec.	Records of Buckinghamshire
Cambrian Arch.	Archaeologia Cambrensis, Journal of the Cambrian Archaeological Association
Camden Misc.	Camden Miscellany
Chetham	Chetham Society
Cornwall	Journal of the Royal Institution of Cornwall
Derbys Arch.	Journal of the Derbyshire Archaeological and Natural History Society
Devon	Devon and Cornwall Record Society
Dorset Nat.	Proceedings of the Dorset Natural History and Antiquarian Field Club
Dorset Rec.	Dorset Record Society Publications
Essex Arch.	Transactions of the Essex Archaeological Society
Essex Rev.	Essex Review
Hampshire	Papers and Proceedings of the Hampshire Field Club and Archaeological Society
HMC Middleton	Historic Manuscripts Commission, Lord Middleton MSS (London, 1911)
Lancs Rec.	Record Society for Lancashire and Cheshire
London Arch.	Transactions of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society
Norfolk Arch.	Norfolk Archaeology
Staffs Hist.	Collections for a History of Staffordshire
Suffolk Rec.	Suffolk Records Society
Surtees	Surtees Society
Sussex Arch.	Sussex Archaeological Collections
Sussex Notes	Sussex Notes and Queries, Sussex Archaeological Society
Wilts Arch.	Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine
Worcs Arch.	Transactions of the Worcestershire Archaeological Society
Worcs Hist.	Worcestershire Historical Society
Yorks Arch.	Yorkshire Archaeological Journal
Yorks Rec.	Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series

REF.	LIVERY COMPANY
B/S	Barber-Surgeon
CLOTH	Clothworker
FISH	Fishmonger
GOLD	Goldsmith
HABERD	Haberdasher
IRON	Ironmonger
L/S	Leather-seller
M/T	Merchant-taylor
P/S	Painter-stainer



## APPENDIX A INVENTORY SAMPLE

DATE	NAME	STATUS/ OCCUPATION	PLACE	REFERENCE
1459	FALSTOLFE Sir John	Knight	Norfolk	Archaeologia 21 (1827)
1466	LEWKENER Lady Eliz.	Widow	Sussex	Prob 2/3
c. 1470	SALESBURY John	?	?	Prob 2/542
1475	EVERLY, Richard	Goldsmith	London	Prob 2/450
c. 1475	SHERARD Jeffrey	Esq	Leics	Prob 2/543
1482	MAYOW Walter	Clothier	Somerset	Prob 2/10
1483	BELE Richard	Butcher	London	Prob 2/11
1484	GYLBERT Thomas	Draper	London	Prob 2/12
1486	SKYRWYTH John	Mercer	London	Prob 2/15
1487	AYLOFF Edmond	Mercer	Suffolk	Prob 2/19
1487	CAMELL John	Yeoman?	Somerset	Prob 2/451
1487	HOLGRAVE John	Roy. serv.	London	Prob 2/16
1487	PULTER John	Gent	Herts	Prob 2/73
1487	WAYTE Dame Eliz.	Widow	London?	Prob 2/18
1488	BRADWEY William	Clothier	Glos	Prob 2/21
1488	COWPER Thomas	Fishmonger	London	Prob 2/23
1488	EDWARD William	Grocer	London	Prob 2/20
1488	GODFRAY Robert	Mercer	Sussex	Prob 2/25B
1488	MORTON Robert	Gent.	London	Br. Arch. Assn. Jn. 33 (1877)
1489	ALFEGH John	Esq.	Kent	HMC Middleton MSS, 465
1489	BOWTON John	Marshal	Bristol	Prob 2/27
1489	BARNYS John	Dyer	London	Prob 2/28
1489	DARELL Sir Richard	Knight	Hants	Prob 2/164
1489	WARDLEY John	L/S	London	Prob 2/152
1490	BODIHAM Harry	Mercer	Kent	Prob 2/35
1490	DYGONSON John	Mercer	Colchester	Prob 2/36
1490	ROBINSON -	Fishmonger	London	Prob 2/43
1490	ROBYNSON John	Yeoman	Middx	Prob 2/34
1490	SCOULE Richard	Burgess	Norfolk	Prob 2/27
1490	SENT, -	Taylor	Southwark	Prob 2/44
1490	YATES William	Mercer	?	Prob 2/37
1491	CAYSAR John	Yeoman	Kent	Prob 2/47
1491	CLERK Richard	Tanner	Bucks	Prob 2/46
1491	MASON Phillip	Farmer	?	Prob 2/452
1492	ATCE William	Canon	London	Prob 2/61
1492	BOWDEN Katherine	Widow	Essex	Prob 2/54
1492	MOWER Thomas	Currier	London	Prob 2/56
1492	PUTTENHAM William	Gent.	Herts	Prob 2/52
1492	RYCHARDES Robert	Clothier	Glos	Prob 2/57
1492	VEYSY John	Parson	London	Prob 2/53
1493	BRYSENDEN Laurence	Clerk	Kent	Prob 2/66
1493	PETHOD William	Weaver	Norfolk	Prob 2/63
1493	SADLER John	Farmer	Essex	Prob 2/64
1494	BOX John	Farmer	Cant. dioc.	Prob 2/83C
1494	CHESNALL Hugh	Parson	Lincs	Prob 2/83B
1494	COVERTE William	Gent.	Sussex	Prob 2/72
1494	DYKE William	Farmer	Suffolk	Prob 2/69
1494	HORSELEY Elizabeth	Clothier	Coventry	Prob 2/75
1494	LEWYS John	Priest	?	Prob 2/74
1494	LODE Henry	Farmer	Hants	Prob 2/78
1494	MANERS Dame Elenor	Widow	Oxon	Prob 2/76
1494	PADLEY John	Mercer	London	Prob 2/77
1494	SLATER William	Farmer	Berks	Prob 2/455
1494	SYMSON Richard	Merchant ?	London ?	Prob 2/70
1494	WARYN Robert	Merchant	East Anglia	Prob 2/80
1495	[ ] OCLBY Johanna	Widow	Linc. dioc.	Prob 2/99
1495	ADAM Simon	Farmer	?	Prob 2/101
1495	BARNARD Thomas	?	Southwark	Prob 2/100B
1495	COOK Edward	Farmer	Hants	Prob 2/85
1495	COOPER Walter	Clothier	Suffolk	Prob 2/94
1495	COTES Hugh	?	Norfolk	Prob 2/456
1495	HANSON John	Baker	London	Prob 2/89
1495	HYCHEN Richard	Yeoman	Cambs	Prob 2/86
1495	LEMAN Richard	Tailor	London	Prob 2/98
1495	MAYHO John	Clothier	Somerset	Prob 2/97

1495	PAGE	Henry	Farmer	Sussex	Prob 2/84
1495	PERKYN	John	?	Bristol	Prob 2/767
1495	STANLEY	Sir William	Lord Chamb.	Denbigh	PRO E154/2/5
1495	WARD	William	?	Hertford	Prob 2/117
1496	ALYN	Thomas	Farmer	Somerset	Prob 2/125
1496	CLARKE	Henry	Brewer	Middx	Prob 2/108
1496	GEORGE	Giles	?	?	Prob 2/121
1496	HILL	William	Stapler	Leicester	Prob 2/103
1496	LEVERSEGE	Edmond	Farmer	Wilts	Prob 2/110
1496	MOWBREY	John	Priest	London	Prob 2/118
1496	NEWTON	Thomas	Esq.	?	Prob 2/111
1496	OTTER	Walter	?	Norfolk	Prob 2/107
1496	REYGNAM	John	Clothier	Suffolk	Prob 2/87
1496	ROBERT	Agnes	Widow	Kent	Prob 2/113
1496	SNELLE	George	Husbandman	Hunts	Prob 2/123
1497	BROMER	Richard	Joiner	London	Prob 2/137
1497	SCATTER	Alice	Farmer	Salisbury dioc.	Prob 2/129
1497	WOODWARD	Jacob	Maltman	Beds	Prob 2/128
1497	YORKE	John	Farmer	Chester dioc.	Prob 2/135
1498	KICHYN	Christopher	Carpenter	London	Prob 2/143
1498	MYNCHYLL	Richard	Gent. serv.	London	Prob 2/140
1498	TYCHEBORNE	John	Gent.	Winchester dioc.	Prob 2/146
1499	BONDE	John	Farmer	Oxon	Prob 2/151
1499	COCKE	John	Husbandman	Lancs	Prob 2/161
1499	DUNE	John	Draper	Salop	Prob 2/149
1499	HARDYNG	Alice	Widow	Essex	Prob 2/153
c. 1499	PERKYN	Margaret	Widow	Coventry	Prob 2/541
1499	SCHULDAM	Hugh	Gent.	Norfolk	Prob 2/159
1499	SPRISTOWE	John	Dyer	Northampton	Prob 2/163
1499	SYDENHAM	John	Gent.	Somerset	Prob 2/160
1500	BETTES	John	Farmer	Bucks	Prob 2/733
1500	BOLAND	Edith	Clothier	Winchester dioc.	Prob 2/168
c. 1500	COCKES	William	Draper	London	Prob 2/499
1500	CUFF	William	Clothier	Salisbury	Prob 2/174
1500	GOODERYCHE	Thomas	Tallow-chand.	Herts	Prob 2/709
c. 1500	HAMLYN	Isabell	Clothier	Somerset	Prob 2/462
c. 1500	KEYNES	Thomas	Brewer	Bristol	Prob 2/172
1500	RAIGNOLD	William	Clothier	Dorset	Prob 2/173
c. 1500	STAWELL	Robert	Farmer	Somerset	Prob 2/461
c. 1500	Unidentified	LADY ?	Widow	Westminster ?	Prob 2/743
c. 1500	WIKS	John	Farmer	?	Prob 2/546
1500	WYNGAR	Harry	Mercer	London	Prob 2/169
1501	COLDALL	John	Vicar	Surrey	Prob 2/464
1501	PYKRING	Thomas	Mercer	Surrey	Prob 2/175B
1501	EMOTE	Dame	Stapler's widow	Oxon	Prob 2/465
1501	CLIVE	Dr Michael	School master	Winchester	Prob 2/463
1501	WOODCHURCHE	John	Draper	London	Prob 2/468
1502	CROSSE	John	Mercer	London	Prob 2/695
1503	DUCKE	James	Tanner	Southwark	Prob 2/470
c. 1503	MASON	Thomas	Merchant	Bristol	Prob 2/471
1503	TREYNHAM	William	Haberdasher	London	Prob 2/467
1505	ERNEST	Matthew	Tradesman	London	Prob 2/177
c. 1505	LACY	Thomas	Gent.	London	Prob 2/178C
1506	ANDREW	John	Yeoman	Hunts	Prob 2/696
1506	BROWNTON	Sir Robert	Knight	Suffolk	Prob 2/180
1507	AXE	Bernard	Hosier	London	Prob 2/182
1508	GARDENER	John	Gent.	Essex	Prob 2/188
1508	STAFFORDE	Thomas	Farmer	?	Prob 2/185
1508	TYRELL	Sir Robert	Knight	Essex	Prob 2/187
1509	DUDLEY	Edmund	Lawyer	London	Archaeologia 71, (1921)
1509	BEAUFORT	Lady Marg.	Queen mother	London	St John's Coll. D91.2
1513	OXFORD	Earl of	Great Chamb.	Essex	Archaeologia 66, (1915)
1515	BERSER	Thomas	Farmer	Norfolk	Prob 2/192
1516	WOLSEY	Thomas	Cardinal	London	BL Harley 620
1517	ANON	Thomas	Fish merchant	?	Prob 2/474
1517	ALFORD	Roger	?	Essex	Prob 2/193
1517	PYCHARD	Thomas	Farmer	Oxon	Prob 2/194
1518	UMFLES	John	Apothecary	Norfolk	Prob 2/195
1521	BUCKINGHAM	Duke of	Duke	N/A	BL Harley 1419B
1523	MONTEAGLE	Lord	Baron	Lancs	PRO SP1/27
1524	BISSHOPE	Richard	Farmer	Berks	Prob 2/196

1524	HUNGERFORD	Dame Agnes	Widow	Wilts	Archaeologia, 38, (1860)
1524	LOVELL	Sir Thomas	Roy. serv.	Middx	Prob 2/199
1525	BROKKES	William	Vicar	Kent	Prob. 2/202A
1526	EVOTT	Edmund	Farmer	Worcs	Prob 2/200
1527	BODLEY	John	Mercer	Exeter	Prob 2/478
1527	CROMWELL	Thomas	Lawyer	London	PRO SP1/42, 116
1527	HASTELER	Thomas	Farmer	London dioc.	Prob 2/476
1527	WIGHT	John	Clothier	Sussex	Prob 2/477
1528	HARRYS	Robert	Fish merchant	Lincs	Prob 2/480
1528	MELTON	William	Chanc. of York	York	Surtees 79, (1884), 251
1529	BURNELL	Peter	Lawyer	London	Prob 2/481
c. 1530	DAWES	Richard	Farmer	?	Prob 2/482
c. 1530	KIRTON	John	Gent.	?	Prob 2/202C
1531	SHERNBROKE	Edward	Clerk	Essex	Prob 2/697
1532	DAVENPORT	William	Esq.	Cheshire	Chetham 33 (1857)
1532	GUILDFORD	Sir Henry	Comptroller	Kent and London	Arch. Cant. 15 (1883) PRO SP1/70, 89
1533	AMADAS	Robert	Roy. Golds.	London,	Prob 2/486
1533	BERNERS	Lord	Baron	Calais ?	PRO SP1/82, 299
1533	PENNYNGTON	Sir William	Knight	Cumb	Surtees 26 (1853), No. 10
1533	PLYMLEY	Alexander	Mercer	London	Prob 2/487
1534	HARENDEN	Thomas	Mason	Kent	Prob 2/49
1534	WEST	Nicholas	Bishop of Ely	Ely	Prob 2/488
1535	BAKER	John	Clerk	Canterbury	Prob 2/490
1535	SUFFOOK	Duke of	Duke	N/A	BL Harley 1419B
1536	AYLMER	William	Farmer	Hants	Prob 2/492
1536	BACCHUS	Rowland	Fish merch.	Cambs	Prob 2/493
1536	BLACKDEN,	John	Clerk	London	Prob 2/505
1536	GOODMAN	Robert	Farmer	Wilts ?	Prob 2/495
1536	HELYAR	John	Farmer	Isle of Wight	Prob 2/496
1536	SCARVING	Richard	Gent.	Glos	Prob 2/498
1536	SLADE	Francis	Esq.	Warwicks	Prob 2/499
1536	STODLEY	Robert	Mercer	London	Prob 2/500
1536	WENDLOKE	Thomas	Butcher	Norfolk	Prob 2/501
1537	ARDURN	Robert	Esq.	Staffs	Prob 2/504
1537	FERROUR	Richard	Farmer	?	Prob 2/509
1537	GYLL	Walter	Innholder	Dorset	Prob 2/510
1537	JOHNSON	Richard	Bookseller	London	Prob 2/512
1537	KATHERINE	of ARAGON	Queen	London	Camden Misc. 3, (1855)
1537	KEBULL	Harry	Farmer	Suffolk	Prob 2/700
1537	PORTER	William	Clothier	Worcester	Prob 2/515
1537	SALFORD	William	?	?	Prob 2/203A
1538	BARTON	Walter	Tradesman	Reading	Prob 2/220
1538	BESTE	Robert	Farmer	Kent	Prob 2/230E
1538	BROOK	Thomas	Gent.	Somerset	Prob 2/210
1538	CHESBOROW	Stephen	Merchant	Kings Lynn	Prob 2/219
1538	CHOWNE	John	Farmer	Yorks	Prob 2/211
1538	COKKES	Thomas	Cooper	London	Prob 2/518
1538	COLYER	Thurston	Hatter	Staffs	Prob 2/230A
1538	GLEMAHAM	Sir John	Knight	Carm	Prob 2/519
1538	HOKER	Robert	Clothier	Exeter	Prob 2/226
1538	HUTTON	John	Merch. Adv.	Antwerp	PRO SP1/136, 78
1538	JENYSON	Robert	Farmer	Co. Durham	Prob 2/214
1538	LAMBERTH	John	Merchant	Harwich	Prob 2/206
1538	MODY	John	Farmer	Hants	Prob 2/218
1538	MONNTEFORTE	Simon	Esq.	Warwicks	Prob 2/223
1538	REEDE	Richard	Gent.	Lincs	Prob 2/516
1538	SENAGH	William	Tradesman	Hereford	Prob 2/222
1538	SMYTH	William	Yeoman	Kent	Prob 2/204
1538	STONER	Francis	Clerk	Lincs	Prob 2/217
1538	WALLER	John	Farmer	Suffolk	Prob 2/230B
1539	ANDERSON	Richard	Merchant	Newcastle u/Tyne	Prob 2/240
1539	BASTERDE	John	Farmer	Herts	Prob 2/231
1539	BLUET	John	Gent.	Lincs ?	Prob 2/234
1539	CALOWE	John	Farmer	?	Prob 2/230C
1539	ELESONE	James	Mercer	Co. Durham	Prob 2/242
1539	GRONOWE	Hugh	Farmer	?	Prob 2/243
1539	GYLSON	Mr Henry	Mayor	Cambridge	Prob 2/241
1539	KYPYNG	William	Farmer	Bath diocese	Prob 2/238
1539	LAMBE	Robert	Merchant	Newcastle u/Tyne	Prob 2/235
1539	SCOTEN	John	Clothier	Suffolk	Prob 2/233

1539	THURLBYS	John	Farmer	Northants	Prob 2/239
1539	TURNEY	George	Mercer	London	Prob 2/701
1539	WOLF	John	SKINNER	London	Prob 2/232
1540	CROMWELL	Thomas	Earl of Essex	London	PRO SP1/162, 83
1540	DRAVER	Stephen	Clothier	Kent	Prob 2/525
1540	FARMER	Richard	Roy. serv.	London	BL Royal App. 89
1540	FORTESCUE	Sir Adrian	Roy. serv.	London	BL Royal App.89
1540	LISLE	Viscount	Governor	Calais	PRO SP1/161, 44v
1541	CLARKE	Thomas	Dean	Chester	Chetham 33 (1857), 125
1541	PARKER	Thomas	IRON.	London	Prob 2/527
1541	PELE	Roger	Parson	Lancs	Surtees 26 (1853), No. 22
1541	SANDYS	Lord	Lord Chamb.	Hants	Chute (1888)
1541	WREN	Margery	Widow	Co. Durham	Prob 2/526
1542	HENRY VIII		King	Westminster	PRO E/315/160, 51
1552	NORFOLK	Duchess of	'Old' Duchess	Lambeth	E315/160, 103
1542	WESTON	Sir Richard	Roy. serv.	Surrey	Harrison (1893)
1545	WHYTBROKE	Hugh	Saddler	Worcester	Worcs Hist. NS.5 (1967)
1546	MUNDY,	Vincent	Esq.	Derbys	Derbys Arch. 50NS3 (1930)
1546	NORFOLK	Duke of	Duke	Norfolk	PRO LR 115
1546	PETHERES	Thomas	Mercer	Salisbury	Prob 2/530
1546	SAUNDERS	Henry	Gent. serv.	Canterbury	Prob 2/245B
1547	HENRY VIII		King	Westminster	BL Harley 1419B
1549	MORE	Sir Chris.	Knight	Surrey	SG, LM 1101/3A & 3B
1549	SEYMOUR	Thomas	Lord Admiral	Sussex	Sussex Arch. 13 (1861)
c 1549	WILLOUGHBY	Sir Henry	Knight	Notts	Assoc.Arch.19 Pt I (1887)
1551	BOYLE	John	Mercer	Hereford	Prob 2/248A
1551	HEYWARDE	Agnes	Wid./Farmer	Wilts	Prob 2/246
1551	HUSSEY	Nicholas	Farmer	Surrey	Prob 2/247
1551	LAWSON	William	Coal Merchant	Newcastle u/Tyne	Surtees 2 (1835),No. 104
1552	BELLASSES	Anthony	Lawyer	Westminster	Prob 2/261
1552	KIRTON	Stephen	Ald. Stapler	London	Prob 2/252
1552	STOCKLEY	William	Fish.	London	Prob 2/251
1552	WHITEHEAD	Hugh	Dean	Durham	Prob 2/249
1553	CAREW	Sir Peter	Knight	Exeter	PRO SP11/3, 29
1553	CATESBY	Sir Richard	Knight	Northants	Prob 2/254A
1553	CRANMER	Thomas	Archbishop	Lambeth	PRO E154/2/41
1553	DAVENOT	?	Merchant ?	London ?	Prob 2/254B
1553	GATES	Sir John	Roy. serv.	London	PRO LR2/119, 56v
1553	NORTHUMB'D	Duke of	Lord Chanc.	Middx	PRO E154/2/39
1553	TYLDISLEY	Thurstan	Esq.	Lancs.	Chetham 33 (1857), 105
1554	HYNDE	Austen	Ald./Draper	London	Prob 2/257
1554	LA WARRE	Lord	Baron	Sussex	BL Add MS 5702
1554	MORYCE	William	Esq.	Essex	Prob 2/255
1554	SWALOWE	Martin	Farmer	Norfolk	Prob 2/258A
1554	WARREN	Sir Ralph	Mercer	London	Prob 2/256
1556	ARMIGER	Thomas	Farmer	Suffolk	Prob 2/234
1556	DEVON	Earl of	Earl	Surrey	Cornwall II.7 (1866)
1556	GAGE	Sir John	Comptroller	Sussex	V & A, Furn.Archive
1556	MORE	William	Esq.	Cambs	Prob 2/265
1556	TAILOUR	Nicholas	Farmer	Beds	Prob 2/263
1556	TRYE	Anne	Widow of Esq.	Derbys	Prob 2/346C
1556	TYLDESLEY	Thomas	Esq.	Lancs	Chetham NS3 (1884), 13
1557	ABBOTT	William	Tradesman	London	Prob 2/283
1557	ALLEN	Arthur	Farmer	?	Prob 2/310B
1557	ANON	-	Farmer	Rutland	Prob 2/308
1557	ANON	-	Gent.	Essex	Prob 2/534
1557	BONDE	Thomas	Gent.	Warwicks	Prob 2/295
1557	HALL	Thomas	Shipowner	Glos	Prob 2/287
1557	HAMPTON	William	Farmer	Lincs	Prob 2/290
1557	HOBSON	Thomas	Farmer	Sussex	Prob 2/309
1557	HORDE	Humphrey	Baker	London	Prob 2/773
1557	JENNYNS	Elizabeth	Widow	Staffs	Prob 2/310A
1557	KNYVETT	William	Esq.	Yorks	Surtees 26 (1853) No. 89
1557	LAWSON	Jane	ex-Prioress	Co. Durham	Surtees 2 (1835) No. 120
1557	PALMER	Lawrence	Gent.	Lincs	Prob 2/290
1557	PERCYE	George	Gent.	Wilts ?	Prob 2/297
1557	POPE	John	Esq.	Essex	Prob 2/280
1557	PYNNOCKE	John	Gent.	Worcs	Prob 2/307
1557	RAYNOLD	Robert	Farmer	Suffolk	Prob 2/288
1557	RUSSHSTON	Thomas	Roy. mess.	Westminster	Prob 2/705
1557	SECOLL	William	Yeoman	Oxon	Prob 2/289

1557	SYMPSON	William	Gent.	Berks	Prob 2/298
1557	THOMSON	William	Yeoman	Lincs	Prob 2/293
1557	TOUTHBYE	Bridget	Farmer	Lincs	Prob 2/279
1557	TRENCHARD	Thomas	Esq.	Somerset	Prob 2/305
1557	WELBYE	Thomas	Gent.	Lincs	Prob 2/277
1557	WELSHE	William	Gent.	Bucks	Prob 2/270
1557	WILLIAMS	Thomas	?	Kingston u/Thames	Prob 2/533
1558	ANON	Humfrey	Farmer	Kent ?	Prob 2/311B
1558	BRERETON	Richard	Gent.	Cheshire	Chetham 33 (1857), 168
1558	BULLOK	John	Gent.	Suffolk	Prob 2/316
1558	BUNTYNGE	John	Shipowner	Norfolk	Prob 2/772
1558	CLARKE	John	Merchant	Rye	Prob 2/328
1558	COLLIER	George	Clerk	Manchester	Chetham NS3 (1884), 18
1558	HALLYWELL	John	Farmer	Essex	Prob 2/327
1558	HAMOND	Thomas	Yeoman	Norfolk	Prob 2/326
1558	HYNDMER	Robert	Parson	Co. Durham	Surtees 2 (1835) No. 122
1558	ISHAM	Gregory	Merchant	London	Ramsay (1962)
1558	LENTALL	Nicholas	Gent.	London ?	Prob 2/346B
1558	LUDDINGTON	Stephen	Farmer	Lincs	Prob 2/312
1558	MARSHALL	Alice	Wid. of Farmer	Kent	Prob 2/535
1558	MAYWDESLEY	Richard	Farmer	Middx	Prob 2/324
1558	MILL	John	Yeoman	Sussex	Prob 2/343
1558	MONGOMBURY	Thomas	Mercer	London	Prob 2/314
1558	NORRYCE	Richard	Mercer	Lyme Regis	Prob 2/329
1558	POLE	Reginald	Cardinal	Lambeth	Prob SP12/1, 20
1558	PONDER	Simon	Founder	London ?	Prob 2/332
1558	RYCE	Thomas	Gent.	Isle of Wight	Prob 2/321
1558	SAULE	Richard	Farmer	Lincs	Prob 2/322
1558	SHURLEY	Edward	Esq.	Sussex	Prob 2/338
1558	SMYTH	Robert	Farmer	Cambs	Prob 2/317
1558	STRATTFORD	Henry	Farmer	Glos	Prob 2/334
1558	WALCOTT	Thomas	Gent.	Lincs	Prob 2/319
1558	WAYTE	'Elyce'	Furrier	London	Prob 2/346A
1558	WRYGHT	Edmond	Farmer	Herts	Prob 2/347
1558	WYNTERHEY	John	Yeoman	?	Prob 2/777
1559	ABYN	John	Cordwainer	Salisbury	Prob 2/356
1559	CASTELL	Thomas	Draper	London	Prob 2/371
1589	CROMLOVES	Richard	Gent.	Berks	Prob 2/365
1559	CROWE	Thomas	Yeoman	Norfolk	Prob 2/351
1559	EVERNDEN	Robert	Farmer	Kent	Prob 2/376
1559	GARRADE	Thomas	M/T	London	Prob 2/386
1559	HARPER	John	Farmer	Surrey,	Prob 2/380C
1559	JHONSON	'Jhon'	Mercer	Norfolk	Prob 2/369
1559	KERKBY	Thomas	Yeoman	Lincs	Prob 2/363
1559	MAYNARDE	'Elianor'	Wid. of Merch.	Middx	Prob 2/354
1559	PEKHAM	Lawrence	Farmer	Sussex	Prob 2/372
1559	SHEPARD	Simon	Yeoman	Lincs	Prob 2/349
1559	SUTTON	Sir Henry	Knight	?	Prob 2/ 375
1559	WANDISFORD	Francis	Esq.	Yorks	Surtees 26 (1853), 131
1559	WOOD	George	Esq.	Staffs	Prob 2/318
1560	SCOT	Robert	Farmer	Sussex	Prob 2/383
1561	BINGHAM	Robert	Esq.	Dorset	Arch.Jn.17 (1860), 151
1561	HEYNSON	Richard	Parson	Exeter	Prob 2/387
1561	PEMBROKE	Earl of	Earl	Wilts	V&A KRP.D.30
1562	DURKINGTON	?	Merchant	London	Prob 2/746
1562	LEYLAND	Thomas	Esq.	Lancs	Chetham 33 (1857), 162
1562	OGLE	Lord	Baron	Nthumb	Surtees 26 (1853) No. 132
1562	WYCLIFFE	Joan	Wid. of Lawyer	Yorks	Surtees 26 (1853) No. 135
1563	DELVES	Dame Cicely	Wid. of Knight	Cheshire	Chetham 51 (1860), 28
1566	WALTON	William	Merchant	Durham	Surtees 2 (1835) No. 200
1566	WORSLEY	Sir Richard	Knight	Isle of Wight	Hampshire 5 (1904-6), 185
1567	GOWER	Ralph	Esq.	Yorks	Surtees 23 (1853) No.157
1567	HAULE	Jane	Wid. of Farmer	Durham	Surtees 2 (1835) No. 222
1567	HUTTON	Elizabeth	Wid. of Esq.	Co. Durham	Surtees 2 (1835) No. 197
1567	NEVILLE	George	Clerk	Yorks	Surtees 26 (1853) No. 161
1567	ROKEBY	Thomas	Esq.	Yorks	Surtees 26 (1853) No. 170
1568	HEDWORTH	Dame Katharine	Wid. of Knight	Chester	Surtees 2 (1835) No. 224
1568	WHARTON	Lord	Baron	Yorks	Yorks Rec.134 (1972), 20
1569	GREEN	Thomas	Farmer	Lincs	Prob 2/370
1569	GRENE	Henry	Founder	Worcester	Worcs Hist. NS5 (1967), 25
1569	REDDISH	John	Esq.	Lancs	Chetham NS3 (1884), 27

1569	STRICKLAND	Walter	Esq.	Westmorland	Surtees 26 (1853) No. 164
1569	WEST	John	Gent.	Warwicks	Prob 2/390
1570	ANDERSON	Bertram	Merchant	Newcastle u/Tyne	Surtees 2 (1835) No. 266
1570	NABBS	John	'Clothmaker'	Manchester	Chetham 20,3rd Serv. (1972)
1571	BADGE	Thomas	Tradesman	Middx	Prob 2/391
1571	NORTON	Thomas	Gent.	Hants	Prob 2/392
1571	PAKINGTON	Sir Thomas	Knight	Bucks	Prob 2/393
1571	PORTER	Thomas	Butcher	Worcester	Worcs Hist. NS5 (1967), 50
1571	SALVIN	Gerald	Esq.	Co. Durham	Surtees 2 (1835) No. 270
1571	WILKINSON	Mr John	Merchant	Newcastle u/Tyne	Surtees 2 (1835) No. 274
1572	NORFOLK	Duke of	Duke	Norfolk	PRO SP12/81, 67
1572	SWINBURNE	Thomas	Esq.	Nthumb	Surtees 2 (1835) No. 282
1573	ISAACKE	Edward	Esq.	Kent	Prob 2/402
1573	MACE	William	Ald./Rentier	London	Prob 2/711
1573	SAUNDERS	George	Merchant	London	Prob 2/399
1573	WYGHT	John	Gent.	Middx	Prob 2/396
1574	BOWES	Martin	Esq./Merchant	London	Prob 2/397
1574	BURGH	Roger	Esq.	Yorks	Surtees 26 (1853) No. 183
1574	MASCALL	Roger	Brewer	London	Prob 2/401
1574	MILLES	Henry	Ald./Grocer	London	Prob 2/400
1574	WESSELS	Wassell	Vinegar maker	London	Prob 2/404A
c.1575	HERON	Sir George	Knight	Nthumb	Surtees 2 (1835) No. 308
1575	PARKER	Matthew	Archbishop	Lambeth	Archaeologia 30 (1844)
1575	RACHFORD	John	Husbandman	Beds	Bedford 32 (1952)
1575	SHARRINGTON	Sir Henry	Knight	Wilts	Wilts Arch. 63(1968)
1577	BILLINGHAM	John	Gent.	Co. Durham	Surtees 2 (1835) No. 311
1577	LEDDELL	Thomas	Merchant	Newcastle u/Tyne	Surtees 2 (1835) No. 309
1577	LOVELACE	William	Esq./Lawyer	Canterbury	Prob 2/404B
1578	ASSHEFELD	Sir Edmund	Knight	Bucks	Prob 2/407
1578	THURLAND	Jarvis	Innkeeper	London	Prob 2/406
1579	BESTON	William	Gent.	Southwark	Prob 2/653
1579	BUTLER	Sir Thomas	Knight	Lancs	Chetham 51 (1860), 120
1579	TATTON	Robert	Esq.	Cheshire	Chetham 54 (1861), 91
1580	ALDWORTHE	Peter	Clothier	Reading	Prob 2/412
1580	BLACKWELL	Richard	Clothier	Reading	Prob 2/419
1580	BYE	Walter	Clothier	Reading	Prob 2/411
1580	DOWNTON	John	Yeoman	Dorset	Prob 2/414
1580	GARDINER	Henry	Carpenter ?	Herts	Prob 2/718
1580	LEWKNOR	Nicholas	Farmer	Oxon	Prob 2/415
1580	LYON	Richard	Esq.	Middx	Prob 2/538
1580	MORGAN	James Ap	Farmer	Somerset	Prob 2/413
1580	TANNER	Roger	Tradesman	Salisbury	Prob 2/416
1581	ELLYSON	Cuthbert	Merchant	Newcastle u/Tyne	Surtees 2 (1835) No. 322
1581	GRAY	Dame Isabell	Wid. of Knight	Nthumb	Surtees 38 (1860) No. 24
1581	WILSON	Dr Thomas	Roy. serv.	Middx	American Ph.101,No.5 (1957)
1582	BOYNTON	Sir Thomas	Knight	Yorks	Poulson (1840) vol. I, 215
1582	DYSONNE	Lewes	Yeoman	Worcs	Prob 2/422
1582	LEE	William	Gent.Serv.	Co. Durham	Surtees 38 (1860) No. 22
1582	OFFLEY	Sir Thomas	Stapler	London	Prob 2/423
1582	PETTIE	MarIE	Wid. of Farmer	Oxon	Prob 2/421
1582	SOUTHEREN	John	Merchant	Newcastle u/Tyne	Surtees 38 (1860) No. 33
1583	BERCHE	Robert	Linen Draper	Manchester	Chetham 20, 3rd Serv. (1972)
1583	CHAPMAN	Marion	Widow	Newcastle u/Tyne	Surtees 38 (1860) No. 36
1583	DALLISON	William	Esq.	Kent	Arch.Cant.15 (1883), 391
1583	LEICESTER	Earl of	Earl	Warwicks	V&A 86, CC35
1583	SYKES	Edward	M/T	London	Prob 2/426
1585	BEDFORD	Earl of	Earl	Bucks	V&A Furn.Archive
1586	BRICKWELL	Thomas	Esq./Soldier	Berwick u/Tweed	Surtees 38 (1860) No. 62
1586	YEO	Leonard	Esq.	Exeter	Devon NS11 (1966) No.8
1587	GARDNER	Matthew	Husbandman	Beds	Bedford 32 (1952) No. 7
1587	JARVIS	William	Farmer	Beds	Bedford 32 (1952) No. 5
1587	JENISON	William	Coal merchant	Newcastle u/Tyne	Surtees 38 (1860) No. 74
1587	TILDESLEY	Edward	Esq.	Lancs	Chetham NS3 (1884), 151
1587	WRITE	Nicholas	Farmer	Beds	Bedford 32 (1952) No. 8
1588	GLASEOR	William	Esq./Lawyer	Chester	Chetham 54 (1861), 128
1588	WODEHOUSE	Sir Roger	Knight	Norfolk	Norfolk Arch.15 (1904), 91
1589	SUCKLING	Mr Robert	Ald./Merchant	Norwich	Norfolk Arch.20 (1921), 158
1590	BRICKWELL	Henry	Gent.	Co. Durham	Surtees 38 (1860) No. 79
1590	RADCLIFFE	Sir John	Knight	Lancs	Chetham 51 (1860), 68
1590	RAMSEY	Sir Thomas	Merchant	London	Archaeologia 40 (1866)
1590	TRAFFORD	Sir Edmund	Knight	Lancs	Chetham 51 (1860), 72



1591	WOODWARD	Matthew	Farmer	Beds	Bedford 32 (1952) No. 15
1592	BOOTH	Robert	Gent./Farmer	Durham	Surtees 38 (1960) No. 90
1592	PERROT	Sir John	Roy. serv.	Pembs	Cambrian Arch.12, 3rd Ser. 18
1593	SMYTHE	Alice	Widow	London	BL Egerton Roll 8798
1594	FAIRFAX	Sir William	Knight	Yorks	Archaeologia 48 (1884)
1596	BELLOT	Hugh	Bishop	Chester	Chetham 56 (1861), 1
1596	TANCRED	Thomas	Esq.	Yorks	Lawson-Tancred (1937), 175
1596	UNTON	Sir Henry	Roy. serv.	Berks	Berks Ash.Soc. (1841)
1597	HEYE	John	Linen weaver	Lancs	Chetham 20, 3rd Ser. (1972) No. 4
1598	HOULTE	George	Wool weaver	Lancs	Chetham 20, 3rd Ser.(1972) No. 6
1599	EGERTON	Dame Mary	Wid. of Knight	Cheshire	Chetham 51 (1860), 268
1600	HOOKER	Mr Richard	Parson	Kent	Arch.Cant.70 (1956), 231
1600	PETRE	Sir John	Roy. serv.	Essex	Emmison (1961), 105
1601	HARDWICK	'Bess of'	Countess	Hardwick	Boynnton (1971)*
1603	COBHAM	Lord	Baron	London	BL Lansdowne 168, 172
1603	HOCKEN	George	Clerk ?	Devon	Devon 11 (1966) No.36
1605	CREYKE	Ralph	Gent.	Marton Hall	V&A 86 W160
1606	WARD	Jane	Widow	Ipswich	Suffolk Rec.22 (1981) No.40
1607	YEO	George	Esq.	Devon	Devon NS11 (1966) No. 42
1608	BLAKISTON	William	Esq.	Co. Durham	Surtees 142 (1929), 29
1608	SMART	Richard	Gent.	Ipswich	Suffolk Rec.22 (1981) No. 43
1609	ASKEW	Elizabeth	Widow	Kent	Arch.Cant.27 (1905), 230
1609	POOLE	Thomas	Esq.	Lambeth	V&A 86X14
1610	DAGGE	John	?	Middx	Prob 2/429
1613	BUNCE	Dorothy	Widow	Kent	BL Add.42605
1614	ASTLEY	Alice	Spinster	Staffs	Roper (undated)†
1614	MIDDLETON	William	Esq.	Yorks	Yorks Arch.34 (19399)
1614	NORTHAMPTON	Earl of	Earl	London	Archaeologia 42 Pt.II (1869)
1615	FULLER	John	Farmer	Sussex	Sussex Notes 7 (1939) , 201
1616	HAWTAINE	Margaret	Wid. of Gent.	Oxon	Banbury 13 (1985) No.172
1616	STRUDWICK	Robert	Yeoman	Sussex	Sussex Arch.93 (1955) No.2
1617	BEARD	Thomas	Gent.	Beds	Bedford 20 (1938)
1617	INGILBY	Sir William	Knight	Yorks	Yorks Arch.34 (1939)
1618	CHAITOR	Thomas	Esq.	Durham	Surtees 142 (1929), 84
1618	STONYNGE	Julian	Widow	Staffs	Staffs Hist.4th Ser. 5, No.8
1619	PALMER	Jeffrey	Gent.	Beds	Bedford 20 (1938) No.79
1619	SCRIVENER	Thomasine	Widow	Ipswich	Suffolk Rec.22 (1981) No.63
1619	STACIE	Thomas	Gent.	Beds	Bedford 20 (1938) No.86
1621	MUSCHAMP	George	Farmer	Nthumb	Surtees 142 (1929), 140
1621	WREN	Sir Charles	Knight	Co. Durham	Surtees 142 (1929), 148
1623	MANNE	Robert	Mercer	London	Orphans Court Roll 2
1623	MILLOT	Robert	Esq.	Co. Durham	Surtees 142 (1929), 158
1623	WASBOROUGH	John	Yeoman	Wilts	Moore (1981)*
1624	CROMBUSHE	Bart. van	Tallowchandler	London	Prob 2/431
1624	FAIRFAX	Sir Thomas	Knight	Yorks	Archaeologia 48 (1884)
1625	WILCOCKS	Richard	Merchant	London	Prob 2/825
1626	BAKER	Anne	Widow	Ipswich	Suffolk Rec.22 (1981) No.68
1626	WRIGHT	Anne	Widow	Ipswich	Suffolk Rec.22 (1981) No.66
1627	WIFFEN	David	Merchant	London	Orphans Court Roll 4
1628	EDMONDS	William	Yeoman	Dorset	Dorset Nat.35 (1914), 46
1628	GLASIER	Thomas	Gent.	Staffs	Staffs Hist. 4th Ser.5 (1969)
1628	GOODEERE	Anne	Widow	Ipswich	Suffolk Rec.22 (1981) No.70
1629	WARNER	William	Yeoman	Essex	Essex Rev.21 (1912), 156
1629	WHITSON	Mr John	Mayor/MP	Bristol	Bristol Rec.19 (1955) No.193
1630	WILLIS	Thomas	CLOTH.	London	Orphans Court Roll 5
1633	MORE	Sir George	Knight	Surrey	SG LM 1105
1634	GILL	John	Gent.	Oxford	Banbury 14 (1976) No. 340
1635	LEICESTER	Countess of	Countess	Warwicks ?	Halliwell (1854)*
1636	MORE	Lady Francis	Wid. of Knight	Surrey	SG LM 1104
1637	TOWNSHEND	Sir Roger	Knight	Norfolk	Norfolk Arch.23 (1929), 388
1637	WILLIAMS	John	Levant Mer.	London	Orphans Court Roll 7
1639	COOPER	Sir A Ashley	Later Earl	Dorset	Dorset Rec.5 (1974)
1639	DORCHESTER	Viscountess	Widow	Essex	Notes & Queries 198 & 199
1639	LEGH	Dame Dorothy	Wid. of Knight	Lancs	Chetham 54 (1861), 201
1639	PLEY	Richard	Merchant Adv.	Bristol	Bristol Rec.19 (1955) No. 194
1639	ROBINSON	Henry	Gent.	Yorks	Yorks Rec.134 (1972), 87
1639	WARD	Samuel	Stationer	London	Orphans Court Roll 8
1640	ABDY	Anthony	Ald./Merchant	London	Guildhall MS 3760
1641	LAWFORD	Robert	Schoolmaster	Glos	Moore (1976)* No. 60
1641	YEO	Leonard	Esq.	Devon	Devon NS11 (1966)
1642	ESSEX	Earl of	3rd Earl	?	BL Add. 46189

1642	ROBINSON	Francis	Ald.	Stockport	Lancs Rec.131 (1992), 95
1643	COWCHER	Thomas	Mercer	Worcester	Worcs Arch.14 (1938), 49
1643	WORCESTER	Earl of	Earl	London	Archaeologia 91 (1945)
1644	MASSAM	Mr	Gent.	Bucks	BL Stowe 190, 97v
1645	NICHOLAS	John	Esq.	Wilts	BL Egerton 2559, 42
1647	FAIRFAX	Ferdinando	Baron	Yorks	Yorks Rec.134 (1972), 93
1647	HOLLAND	Thomas	Vicar	Sussex	Sussex Notes 14 (1956), 145
1648	AWKINS	Thomas	Chandler	Lichfield	Staffs Hist. 4th Ser. 5, No.31
1648	BROCKMAN	Sir William	Knight	Kent	BL Add. 42605
1648	MASTERS	Ursula	Widow	Staffs	Staffs Hist. 4th Ser. 5, No.32
1649	FINCKER	Thomas	Yeoman	Worcs	Prob 2/550
1649	MORE	Sir Poynings	Baronet	Surrey	SG LM 1121
1649	POTT	Percival	Printer	London	Prob 2/551
1650	BEAPLE	Mistress Grace	Widow	Devon	Devon NS11 (1966) No.181
1650	LANDER	William	Gent./Mercer	Staffs	Staffs Hist. (1934) Pt.2, 111
1650	ROOD	Christopher	Farmer	Suffolk	Prob 2/554
1651	CROWNE	William	Farmer	Essex	Prob 2/660
1651	WEDGE	John	Saddler	London	Orphans Court Roll 9
1651	WHITEHOUSE	Richard	Locksmith	Staffs	Roper (undated)‡
1651	WILLIAMSON	Robert	Yeoman	Kent	Prob 2/555
1652	FELLOW	Oliver	Yeoman	Suffolk	Roper (undated)‡
1653	BAKER	Amy	Widow	Worcs	Prob 2/557
1653	BIGGE	John	Rentier	London	Prob 2/569
1654	DYSART	Countess of	Countess	Ham House	Thornton & Tomlin (1980), 31
1654	HOLTE	Sir Thomas	Knight	Aston Hall	V&A Furn.Archive
1654	OPLARD	John	Farmerr	Bucks	Prob 2/734
1654	SMITH	Kenelme	Gent.	Lichfield	Staffs Hist. 4th Ser. 5, No.37
1655	FISHER	Ann	Widow ?	Beds	Prob 2/432B
1655	LANGHORNE	William	Merchant ?	Surrey	Prob 2/433A
1656	BALE	Joseph	Yeoman	Norfolk	Prob 2/789
1656	CLEARE	Anthony	Husbandman	Middx	Prob 2/646
1656	MANSELL	Margaret	Wid. of Farmer	Worcs	Prob 2/559
1656	PALSGRAVE	John	Farmer	Cambs	Prob 2/561
1656	STAUNTON	Robert	Esq.	London	Prob 2/562
1656	WATKINSON	Thomas	Clothier	Suffolk	Prob 2/690
1657	DUCKE	Peter	Draper	Suffolk	Prob 2/564
1657	LEWEN	James	Yeoman	Kent	Prob 2/648
1657	MONNCKE	Thomas	Gent.	Notts	Prob 2/565
1657	NEWBOLD	William	Farmer	Beds	Prob 2/566
1657	PICROFT	James	Gent.	Norfolk	Prob 2/437A
1657	WALKER	Elizabeth	Wid. of Merch.	Essex	Prob 2//568
1657	WALLS	Robert	Farmer	Hunts	Prob 2/434
1657	WELLS	Dorothy	Widow	Suffolk	Prob 2/790
1658	ANDREWES	Abraham	Taylor	Holborn	Prob 2/676
1658	ASTELL	Richard	M/T	London	Prob 2/438 & 439
1658	ATTWOOD	Richard	Yeoman	Glos	Moore (1976)* No.67
1658	BIDDULPH	Michael	Esq.	Lichfield	Staffs Hist. 4th Ser. 5, No. 45
1658	BONEST	Thomas	Esq.	Surrey	Prob 2/726
1658	EATON	Robert	Fish Merchant	Great Yarmouth	Prob 2/570
1658	GOODWYN	Ralph	Esq.	Ludlow	Prob 2/689
1658	SHAW	Edward	Lighterman	Surrey	Prob 2/573
1659	BLUNDELL	William	Carpenter	London	Prob 2/574
1659	EASTWICKE	Thomas	Tanner	Staines	Prob 2/667
1659	FULLER	Thomas	Yeoman	Bucks	Prob 2/575
1659	GOODYEARE	John	Merchant	London	Prob 2/643
1659	HAMLIN	Thomas	Innkeeper	Suffolk	Prob 2/804
1659	HAMON	John	Yeoman	Sussex	Prob 2/576
1659	HARBERT	Perrigrine	Gent.	?	Prob 2/444
1659	HUSSEY	Edward	Esq.	Lincs	Prob 2/800
1659	JENISON	Ralph	Esq.	Northants	Prob 2/645
1659	LLOYD	Pierce	Gent.	Denbigh	Prob 2/579
1659	LUCK	Edward	Gent.	Northants	Prob 2/803
1659	MERIDEN	Owen	Gent.	Shrewsbury	Prob 2/684
1659	OWEN	Katherine	Widow	Mont.	Prob 2/659
1659	PRETHEROE	Thomas	Tanner	Norfolk	Prob 2/587
1659	SANDFORD	John	Esq.	Essex	Prob 2/674
1659	STALLARD	James	Yeoman	Herefs.	Prob 2/584
1659	TUCKER	Elleanor	Widow	Worcs	Prob 2/590
1659	WISE	Ralph	?	Westminster	Prob 2/680
1659	WOOD	Reginald	Farmer	Derbys	Prob 2/591
1660	ARCHER	William	Gent.	Herts	Prob 2/593

1660	ASTON	Richard	Clerk	Worcs	Prob 2/594
1660	BEACHAM	Francis	Farmer	Middx	Prob 2/672
1660	BEDFORD	William	Rector	Derbys	Prob 2/597
1660	BLACKWELL	Thomas	Wool Weaver	Southwark	Prob 2/598
1660	BODURA	William	Rector	Carn.	Prob 2/808
1660	BREYNTON	Mary	Widow	Worcs	Prob 2/599
1660	BROME	Thomas	Husbandman	Worcs	Prob 2/600
1660	CARTER	Bartholomew	Clothier	Hants	Prob 2/602
1660	CHAMBERS	William	Yeoman	Worcs	Prob 2/603
1660	DASHWOOD	Richard	Brewer	London	Prob 2/607
1660	DAVIE	Robert	Merchant	London	Prob 2/608
1660	DUPLOCKE	Robert	Farmer	Sussex	Prob 2/610
1660	DYMOND	Tristram	Esq.	Cambs	Prob 2/611
1660	EDWARD	Evan Ap	Gent.	Mont.	Prob 2/691
1660	EDWARDS	Thomas	Farmer	Mon.	Prob 2/609
1660	EVANS	Matthew	Gent.	Mont.	Prob 2/612
1660	FARTHING	John	Mariner	Southwark	Prob 2/613
1660	FISHER	William	?	Bucks	Prob 2/647
1660	GRIFFITH	Elizabeth	Widow	Covent Garden	Prob 2/617
1660	HALL	Thomas	Yeoman	Salop	Prob 2/688
1660	HANCOCK	John	Esq.	Devon	Prob 2/682
1660	HOLMES	Robert	Innkeeper	Portsmouth	Prob 2/619
1660	LEAKE	Robert	Lighterman	Middx	Prob 2/815
1660	MARTIN	Thomas	Gent.	Oxon	Prob 2/663
1660	MATTHEW	David Ap	Yeoman	Mont	Prob 2/814
1660	MOTT	George	Yeoman	Sussex	Prob 2/644
1660	PENNISTON	Anthony	Clerk	Rutland	Prob 2/812
1660	PORLAND	Robert	Merchant	Norfolk	Prob 2/626
1660	REIGNOLDES	John	Yeoman	Staffs	Prob 2/627
1660	REYNELLS	John	Esq.	Covent Garden	Prob 2/679
1660	ROLFE	Edmund	Yeoman	Sussex	Prob 2/650
c. 1660	SCOTT	Edward	Yeoman	Norfolk	Prob 2/631
1660	STANTON	William	Yeoman	Leics	Prob 2/810
1660	STEPHENSON	John	Gent.	Sussex	Prob 2/655
1660	STEVENS	John	Farmer	Berks	Prob 2/654
1660	STOKE	George	Esq.	Herts	Prob 2/635
1660	TYDS	Charles	Beekeeper	Guildford	Prob 2/819
1660	UNDERHILL	Thomas	Stationer	London	Prob 2/634
1660	VINOR	Frances	Widow	London	Prob 2/616
1660	WHELPDALE	Thomas	Clerk	Derbys	Prob 2/669
1660	WHIDDEN	Richard	Yeoman	Somerset	Prob 2/666
1660	WORTH	Thomas	Farmer	Rutland	Prob 2/638
1660	YATE	Thomas	Weaver	Worcs	Prob 2/809
1661	GOOD	John	Gent.	Somerset	Moore (1981)*, No. 99
1661	KETTL	John	Mercer	Norwich	Prob 4/1606
1661	WALDO	Daniel	Draper	London	PRO, E154/4/34
1661	WALLIS	Constance	Wid. of Mercer	London	Orphans Court Roll 19
1661	WEBB	Russell	Yeoman	Herts	Prob 2/630
1662	BOX	Henry	Esq.	Middx	Prob 4/13489
1662	CHELSHAM	William	Stock. Trimmer	London	Prob 4/2792
1662	SAY	Viscount	Viscount	Oxon	Banbury 8 (1981), 155
1662	WEBBE	William	Yeoman	Glos	Moore (1976)*, No. 73
1664	FENTON	Margaret	Wid. of Yeoman	Lichfield	Staffs Hist. 4th Ser. 5, No. 60
1664	FLOYD	Benjamin	Haberdasher	London	Orphans Court Roll 61
1665	BROWNE	John	Confectioner	London	Orphans Court 275
1665	GARDNER	Thomas	Haberdasher	London	Orphans Court 320
1665	HUDSON	Phillip	Dyer	Bow	Orphans Court 295
1665	WARNER	John	Hotpresser	London	Orphans Court 50
1666	BAGGALEY	Thomas	Joiner	Lichfield	Staffs Hist. 4th Ser. 5, No. 80
1666	BEAUCHAMP	Anne, Lady	Lady	Wilts	Wilts Arch. 58 (1963), 383
1666	CARTER	George	M/T	London	Orphans Court Roll 30
1666	CHAMPNEY	Thomas	Dyer	London	Orphans Court 281
1666	EDWARDS	Matthew	Tailor	London	Orphans Court Roll 49
1666	HALL	Stephen	Distiller	London	Orphans Court 411
1666	MUMFORD	Augustine	Tobacconist	London	Orphans Court 307 A & B
1666	NOELL	Sir Martin	Merchant	London	Orphans Court 500
1667	BURMAN	Stephen	Linen-draper	London	Orphans Court 328
1667	EALLES	Bernard	MERC.	London	Orphans court 322
1667	HARRISON	Edmund	Broderer	London	Orphans Court 432
1667	PHILLIPS	Samuel	CLOTH.	Bow	Orphans Court 469
1667	RICHARDSON	William	Esq.	Yorks	Yorks Rec. 134 (1972), 124

1667	WALLIS	Ezekiel	Silkman	London	Orphans Court 345
1668	BROWNE	Edwin	Merchant	London	Orphans Court 613
1668	CRESWICK	Sir Henry	Merchant	Bristol	Bristol Rec.19 (1955) No. 196
1668	HAWKSLEY	Richard	Woolman	London	Orphans Court 426
1668	MEYNELL	Francis	Golds.-Banker	London	Orphans Court 405
1668	PICKERING	Sir Henry	Baronet	Cambs	Prob 4/411
1668	SWALE	John	Butter Mer.	London	Orphans Court 465
1668	WYNDHAM	Charles	Esq.	Norfolk	Norfolk Arch. 5 (1859), 331
1669	DILKE	William	Esq.	Warwicks.	Arch.Jn 135 (1978), 195
1669	THOMPSON	Edward	Chapman	Herts	Prob 4/5058
1669	WEARE	Henry	Goldsmith	London	Orphans Court 520
1669	WEBB	Henry	Cloth Mer.	London	Orphans Court 524
1670	AUSTEN	John	Goldsmith	London	Orphans Court 711
1670	CLARK	William	SALTER	London	Orphans Court 599
1670	EATON	John	Royal Laceman	London	Orphans Court Roll 90
1670	FELTON	John	Cloth Mer.	London	Orphans Court 630
1670	GREENE	William	Linen-draper	London	Orphans Court 676
1670	HODILOU	George	Tobacconist	London	Orphans Court 758
1670	NEWBURGH	Earl of	Earl	?	Prob 4/5918
1671	BENTON	Violet	Linen-draper	Norwich	Prob 4/1756
1671	BODINGTON	George	Cloth Mer.	London	Orphans Court 784
1671	CRUMWELL	Elizabeth	Widow	Somerset	Moore (1981)*, No. 132
1671	LANDOR	Thomas	Mercer	Staffs	Staffs Hist. (1934) Pt 2, 119
1671	LEWIS	Sir John	IRON	London	Orphans Court Roll 107
1671	MICHELBORNE	Richard	Merchant	London	Orphans Court 727
1671	CHADWELL	Oliver	Goldsmith	London	Orphans Court 844
1671	WOLLEY	James	Mercer	Radnor	Prob 4/219
1672	BRUCE	Thomas	Laceman	London	Orphans Court Roll106
1672	DAWES	Sir John	Merchant	London	Orphans Court 809
1672	LAZENBY	Philip	Hosier	London	Orphans Court 860
1672	RAYBOULD	Richard	Scythesmith	Sedgley	Roper (undated)†
1672	STUART	Charles	Dke of Richmond	Kent	Arch.Cant.17 (1887), 392
1673	SHARP	John	Plumber	Lichfield	Staffs Hist. 4th Ser. 5, No.125
1673	STUART	Charles	Dke of Richmond	Embassy to Denmark	BL Egerton 2435, 55
1673	MEREDITH	Abel	Gent.	Wilts	Moore (1981)*, No.137
1673	MORGAN (A)	Arthur	Wiredrawer	London	Orphans Court 962
1673	GRESHAM	Selyard	Linen-draper	London	Orphans Court 890
1673	CAME	Thomas	Linen-draper	London	Orphans Court 124
1673	BUTLER	Edmund	Packer	London	Orphans Court 829
1673	SHARROW	Thomas	Cloth Mer.	London	Orphans Court 857
1673	MORGAN (L)	Luke	Hotpresser	London	Orphans Court 938
1673	BOSWORTH	William	Callenderer	London	Orphans Court 853
1673	EWENS	John	Mercer	London	Orphans Court 931
1673	RAMSEY	John	Silk Dyer	London	Orphans Court Roll 123
1673	SAWYER	Thomas	Cheesemonger	London	Orphans Court 819
1673	EWENS	John	Draper	London	Orphans Court 931
1673	BROWNE	Francis	Laceman	London	Orphans Court 913
1673	BOLTON	Ambrose	MERCER	Middx	Orphans Court 917
1674	BACHELER	Thomas	Rentier	London	Orphans Court 973
1674	BOYLSTON	Richard	Cloth.Mer.	London	Orphans Court 1092
1674	BRADFORD	Mary	Widow	Devon	Devon NS11 (1966) No.226
1674	BROWNE	Mun	Levant Mer.	London	Orphans Court 993
1674	DAVIS	Thomas	GOLD.	London	Orphans Court 130
1674	HARDWOOD	Thomas	Dresser	London	Orphans Court 1020
1674	HILLYARD	Thomas	Jeweller	London	Prob 4/17766
1674	MEREDITH	Margery	Widow	Wilts	Moore (1981)*, No.140
1674	MONGER	Joshua	MERCER	Surrey	Orphans Court 944
1674	READE	Richard	Linen-draper	London	Orphans Court Roll 122
1674	WERDEN	Joseph	Innkeeper	Lichfield	Staffs Hist. 4th Ser. 5, No.137
1674	BALTIMORE	Lord	Baron	Middx	Prob 5/2837
1675	BOURCHIER	Anthony	MERCER	London	Orphans Court 1157
1675	BRIDGWATER	Benjamin	Silk Dyer	London	Orphans Court 1211
1675	DRAPER	John	Haberdasher	London	Orphans Court 1082
1675	FINCHAM	Robert	Goldsmith	London	Orphans Court 1079
1675	HINGSTON	Mr John	Clothier	Exeter	Devon NS11 (1966) No.228
1675	LANGTON	Edward	MERCER	London	Orphans Court 1033
1675	MORDAUNT	Lord	Baron	?	Prob 4/326
1675	PECK	Henry	Tradesman ?	Westminster	Prob 4/17000
1675	PHINNIS	George	Callenderer	London	Orphans Court 1224
1675	POCOCKE	Roger	Merchant	Middx	Orphans Court 1002
1675	SALTER	George	Mercer	London	Orphans Court 1343

1675	SMITH	Sir John	Coppers.Man.	London	Orphans Court 910
1675	SUTTON	Abraham	Merchant	Ghent	Prob 4/400 (Index 410)
1675	TOOKER	Humphrey	Linen-draper	London	Orphans Court 1117
1675	TRIMMER	William	Dyer	Southwark	Orphans Court 1116
1675	WENTWORTH	Sir Thomas	Baron	Yorks	Yorks Rec.134 (1972), 145
1676	BARRE	Elizabeth	Widow	Somerset	Moore (1981)*, No.146
1676	BILLERS	Julius	Mercer	Coventry	Prob 4/4125
1676	BUCKNALL	Sir William	Brewer	London	Orphans Court 1324
1676	BURDETT	Robert	Levant Mer.	London	Orphans Court 1497
1676	EDMONDS	William	Dyer	London	Orphans Court 1170
1676	GRANT	William	Silversmith	London	Orphans Court 1200
1676	LAMBERT	William	Apothecary	London	Orphans Court 1147
1676	MARPLES	Robert	Farmer	Derbys	Derbys Arch.9 (1887), 22
1676	WALTHER	Robert	Gent.	Lancs	Lancs Rec.109 (1965), 49
1676	WHITEHALL	James	Merchant	London	Orphans Court 1206
1676	WILLIAMS	Robert	Mercer	London	Orphans Court 1302
1676	WHEAKE	John	CLOTH	Islington	Orphans Court 1182
1677	HAMPTON	Walter	Levant Mer.	London	Orphans Court 1298
1677	LAWRANCE	Francis	Mercer	London	Orphans Court 1349
1678	BEAUMONT	Anne	Viscountess	Leics	Prob 4/2128
1678	HILL	Rowland	MERCER	London	Orphans Court 1431
1678	GEORGE	Thomas	Dyer	London	Orphans Court 1454
1678	PARKER	Henry	Silk Dyer	London	Orphans Court 140
1678	PRESTON	John	Merchant	London	Orphans Court 1536
1678	TAYLOR	John	Silkman	London	Orphans Court 1404
1678	WHITE	Matthew	Dresser	London	Orphans Court 1424
1679	BAYNING	Viscountess	Viscountess	?	Prob 4/1230
1679	BISHOP	Robert	M/T	London	Orphans Court 1444
1679	LAUDERDALE	Duke of	Duke	Ham House	Thornton & Tomlin, (1980), 174
1679	LOCKEY	Dr Thomas	Librarian	Oxford	Bodleian Rec. 5 (1954-6)
1679	PILL	Samuel	Gent.	Glos	Moore (1976)*, No. 124
1679	POOLE	Thomas	Yeoman	Glos	Moore (1976)*, No. 126
1679	SCOTHORNE	Nathaniel	Dyer	London	Orphans Court 1440
1679	SMALDRIDGE	Anne	Wid. of Dyer	Lichfield	Staffs Hist. 4th Ser. 5, No.189
1679	TRAHERNE	Philip	Goldsmith	London	Orphans Court 1526
1679	VERGIS	William	Dresser	London	Orphans Court 1449
1679	WARNER	William	Merchant	London	Orphans Court 1473
1680	ALDWORTH	Thomas	Plumber	London	Orphans Court 1740
1680	CARLTON	Matthew	Merchant	London	Orphans Court 1745
1680	CHAPLYN	Sir Francis	CLOTH	London	Orphans Court 1697
1680	DILKE	Fisher	Linen-draper	London	Orphans Court 1613
1680	DOGETT	John	Merchant	London	Orphans Court 1687
1680	FLOYD	Joseph	Mercer	London	Orphans Court 1587
1680	GARLAND	Thomas	Lighterman	Somerset	Moore (1981)*, No.153
1680	GREENE	Thomas	Merchant	London	Orphans Court 1549
1680	GROSVENOR	Thomas	Packer	London	Orphans Court 1605
1680	THEED	William	Gent.	Bucks	Bucks Rec. 14 (1946), 354
1680	WEST	Samuel	Dyer	Southwark	Orphans Court Roll 160
1680	WORSTER	Willim	Dresser	London	Orphans Court 1554
1681	ASHTON	Robert	M/T	London	Orphans Court 1783
1681	BERRIFFE	Thomas	Linen-draper	London	Orphans Court 1810
1681	CASE	William	Callenderer	London	Orphans Court 1693
1681	GILMAN	John	Cloth Merch.	London	Orphans Court 1778
1681	KING	Thomas	Silversmith	London	Orphans Court 1704
1681	LOVEDAY	Thomas	Refiner	London	Orphans Court 1863
1681	LYDE	Henry	MERCER	London	Orphans Court 1710
1681	OSSERY	Earl of	Son of Duke	Moore Park	Prob 4/12035
1681	PROCTOR	Richard	Dyer	Southwark	Prob 4/1419
1681	RAWLINSON	William	Haberdasher	London	Orphans Court 1837
1681	SHELDON	Sir Joseph	DRAPER	London	Orphans Court 1951
1681	SPRINGOLD	Richard	Merchant	London	Prob 4/1233
1682	BAKER	Benjamin	Threadman	London	Orphans Court 1998
1682	BARNES	Thomas	Mercer	Dorset	Prob 4/11901
1682	DAVIS	John	Mercer	Worcs	Prob 4/5391
1682	ELKIN	Thomas	Packer	London	Orphans Court 1862
1682	MACKHAM	William	Dresser	London	Orphans Court 1879
1682	MONTAGU	Viscount	Viscount	Sussex	Sussex Arch.105 (1967), 84
1682	ROGERS	Thomas	Packer	London	Orphans Court 1848
1683	VERY	Henry	Tapestry Merch.	London	Orphans Court 2047
1683	BRANSON	John	Hempman	London	Orphans Court 1958
1683	FOREMAN	Henry	Brewer	London	Orphans Court 2030

1683	GAUTHORNE	Nathaniel	Furrier	London	Orphans Court 1991
1683	PEMBROKE	Earl of	Earl	Wilts	Wilts Rec. Off. 2057, N5/1
1683	THOMAS	John	Packer	London	Orphans Court 1965
1685	CHAPMAN	John	Silkman	London	Orphans Court 2001
1685	DISBROWE	John	Goldsmith	London	Orphans Court 2028
1685	LEADER	George	Innkeeper	Kent	Arch.Cant. 46 (1934), 97
1685	SALISBURY	Earl of	Earl	Herts	Hatfield House Inv., 410
1685	SEYLIARD	Dame Mary	Wid.of Baronet	Kent	Arch. Cant. 61 (1948) , 57
1686	CRUSH	Thomas	Gent.	Essex	Essex Rev. 15 (1906), 169
1686	GRAY	Roger	Linen-draper	London	Orphans Court 2033
1686	JAQUEMAN	James	Silk weaver	Canterbury	Kent Rec. Off. PRC 11, 50/17
1686	MOORE	Hector	Jeweller	London	Orphans Court 2245
1687	CLARKE	Thomas	Silk Dyer	Southwark	Orphans Court 2115
1687	JENKES	Francis	Linen-draper	London	Orphans Court 2153
1687	SYMES	Harry	Esq.	Glos	Moore (1976)*, No.164
1687	YEO	Leonard	Esq.	Devon	Devon NS11 (1966)
1688	FARIES	John	Linen-draper	Cambridge	Prob 4/625
1688	LOCK	Gervase	Hatter	London	Orphans Court 2098
1689	ALDER	George	DRAPER	London	Orphans Court 2110
1689	CLEEVE	William	Dyer	London	Orphans Court 297B
1689	DANIELL	John	Packer	London	Orphans Court 2106
1689	HACKETT	Thomas	Esq.	Bucks	BL Add 29605
1689	SEALE	Richard	Hatter	London	Orphans Court 2114
1690	OSSULTON	Lady	Baroness	Middx	PRO C104/82
1691	CATER	William	Dyer	London	Orphans Court 2165
1691	EDWARDS	Sarah	Wid. of Haulier	Bristol	Moore (1981)*, No.173
1691	KENDRICK	Andrew	Linen-draper	London	Orphans Court 2208
1691	WEBB	Robert	Silk Dyer	Southwark	Prob 4//3865
1692	ANDREWS	Joel	Cloth Merch.	London	Orphans Court 2189
1692	THORPE	George	Linen-draper	London	Prob 4/1933
1692	WAREFIELD	John	Rentier	London	Orphans Court 2182
1693	ALLEN	Thomas	Innkeeper	London	Orphans Court 2199
1693	CHAMBERS	Abraham	Golds./banker	London	Orphans Court 2198
1693	LE NEVE	John	Esq.	London	PRO C104/112 Pt 2 Doc.317
1694	BARSTEAD	John	Silkman	London	Orphans Court 2261
1694	BIDDLE	Edmund	Citizen	London	Orphans Court 2234
1694	MASCALL	Hugh	Shipwright	Westbury	Moore (1981)*, No.183
1695	BARKSTEAD	Francis	Mercer	Middx	Prob 4/5479
1695	BOUCHIER	Sir Barrington	Knight	Yorks	Yorks Arch.60 (1988) p.127
1695	COOKE	Mr Nicholas	Apothecary	Devon	Devon NS11 (1966) No.257
1696	BROADHURST	John	Tailor	London	Orphans Court 2262
1696	MOORE	Thomas	Laceman	London	Orphans Court 2237
1697	BOOKEY	John	Linen-draper	London	Orphans Court 2537
1697	BRISTOL	Countess of	Countess	Bucks	Prob 4/1
1697	CARRY	Nicholas	Rentier	Hackney	Orphans Court 2274
1697	DEWY	Henry	Combmaker	London	Orphans Court 2290
1697	WILLIAMS	Thomas	Goldsmith	London	Orphans Court 2288
1698	BERKELEY	Earl of	Earl	Middx	Prob 4/8805
1698	HOBBS	Thomas	Surgeon	London	London Arch. 23 Pt 2 (1972)
1698	RALEIGH	Sir Charles	Knight	Wilts	Wilts Arch.42 (1924), 307
1699	DRAKE	Montagu	Esq.	Bucks	Prob 4/2571
1699	SHAFESBURY	Earl of	Earl	Dorset	Dorset Rec. 5 (1974)
1699	WALDO	Samuel	CLOTH	London	Orphans Court 2313
1699	WARD	John	Jeweller	London	Orphans Court 2347
1700	ATKINS	Robert	Baker	London	Orphans Court 2331
1700	BUTLER	Sir Nicholas	SKINNER	Middx	Orphans Court 2338
1700	CHURCH	Thomas	Fur.Merch.	London	Orphans Court 2745
1700	GRIMSHAW	John	Dyer	London	Orphans Court 2525
1700	HOULTON	Nathaniel	Mercer	London	Orphans Court 2419
1700	JOHNSON	Sir John	Goldsmith	London	Orphans Court 2433
1700	SHOOTER	James	Dyer	London	Orphans Court 2348
1701	ARCHER	John	Merchant	London	Orphans Court 2403
1701	BAKER	Lancelot	Goldsmith	London	Orphans Court 2411
1701	BAX	Alexander	Brewer	Faversham	Arch. Cant. 61 (1948), 57
1701	CHAPMAN	Henry	MERCER	London	Orphans Court 2430
1701	FLOYER	Sir Peter	Refiner	London	Orphans Court 2602
1701	FOCHE	Sir John	DRAPER	London	Orphans Court 2600
1701	HEDGES	Sir William	MERCER	London	Orphans Court 2432
1702	LEMAN	Neville	Mercer	London	Orphans Court 1701
1702	PICKERING	Laurence	Combmaker	London	Orphans Court Roll 177
1702	SANDS	Peter	Dyer	London	Orphans Court 2549



1702	SMITH	John	Draper	London	Orphans Court 2523
1703	BERTLES	John	FISH.	London	Orphans Court 2574
1703	WOOLF	Sir John	Rentier	Herts	Orphans Court 2753
1703	SMART	Sir Joseph	M/T	London	Orphans Court 2577
1703	LAUGHTON	John	Silversmith	London	Orphans Court 2619
1703	JAMES II	King	Ex-monarch	France	Archaeologia 18 (1817)
1704	THOMAS	Daniel	MERCER	Middx	Orphans Court 2593
1705	LEVETT	Francis	Tobacconist	London	Orphans Court 2817
1705	KEAY	James	DYER	London	Orphans Court 2675
1706	PARKER	John	Merchant	London	Orphans Court 2767
1706	VANSITTART	Peter	Merchant	London	Orphans Court 2718
1706	WYNNE	John	Tobacconist	London	Orphans Court 2810
1707	JONES	Robert	Linen-draper	London	Orphans Court Roll 179
1707	TREWMAN	Samuel	Gent.	Glos	Moore (1976)*, No.255
1707	WINTLE	William	Silk Dyer	London	Orphans Court 2784
1708	BRICKDELL	Thomas	Carpenter	London	Orphans Court 2793
1708	CALDECOTE	George	MERCER	London	Orphans Court 2893
1708	CANNER	Christopher	Silversmith	London	Orphans Court 2782
1708	KNIGHT	Simon	Silversmith	London	Orphans Court 2830
1708	MAYNE	Edward	Merchant	London	Orphans Court 2796
1708	WARD	Robert	MERCER	London	Orphans Court 2803
1708	WHICHOTE	Benjamin	Merchant	London	Orphans Court 2882
1709	CODRINGTON	Samuel	Esq.	Glos	Moore (1976)*, No. 271
1709	WILSON	Michael	Goldsmith	London	Orphans Court 2856
1710	DOWNES	John	Silversmith	London	Orphans Court 2887
1710	HANCOCK	Edward	Merchant	London	Orphans Court 2891
1710	RAGDALE	Nathaniel	Goldsmith	London	Orphans Court 2881
1710	RUSDEN	John	Goldsmith	London	Orphans Court 2903
1711	CLARKE	Daniel	Hop Merchant	Southwark	Orphans Court 2963
1711	SANDFORD	Daniel	Mercer	London	Orphans Court 2949
1712	MCKEITHWATE	Jonathan	Merchant	London	Orphans Court 3012
1712	METCALFE	James	Goldsmith	London	Orphans Court 2941
1712	WALKER	Robert	Dyer	London	Orphans Court 2919
1713	OSSULTON	Lord	Baron	Middx	PRO C104/82
1714	COCKE	Richard	Linen-draper	London	Orphans Court 3013
1715	ASH	Thomas	Silversmith	London	Orphans Court 2999
1715	AYLWORTH	George	MERCER	London	Orphans Court 3015
1715	EVANS	Elizabeth	Spinster	Surrey	BL Add 42605, 23
1715	HORT	John	Gent.	Westbury	Moore (1981)*, No.210
1715	LAMB	Arthur	Haberdasher	London	Orphans Court 3024
1715	VERE	William	M/T	London	Orphans Court 3058
1716	DALLISON	John	Draper	London	Orphans Court 3010
1716	HOUGHAM	Solomon	Rentier	London	Orphans Court 3016
1716	JACKSON	John	Goldsmith	London	Orphans Court 3005
1717	APPLEBY	William	Draper	London	Orphans Court 3035
1717	ASHWOOD	Benjamin	Packer	London	Orphans Court 3042
1717	TANCERVILLE	Earl of	Earl	Middx	PRO C104/82
1717	TOONE	William	Dyer	London	Orphans Court 3023
1718	MONTAGU	Duke of	Duke	Northants	V&A 86 W20
1718	TURNER	Richard	Linen-draper	London	Orphans Court 3059
1719	HUTTON	Robert	Haberdasher	London	Orphans Court 3100
1719	LOWNDS	John	Wine Merch.	London	Orphans Court 3117
1719	PARTRIDGE	John	Rentier	Middx	Orphans Court 3076
1719	PEIRIE	John	Draper	London	Orphans Court 3106
1719	WYATT	Zedekiah	Linen-draper	London	Orphans Court 3099
1720	IRESON	Daniel	Grocer	London	Orphans Court 3091
1720	JACQUES	William	Silversmith	London	Orphans Court 3103
1720	READ	Moses	Stays Maker	London	Orphans Court 3102
1720	SLANEY	John	Draper	London	Orphans Court 3111
1720	SYDNEY	Mrs	Widow	Middx	PRO C104/82
1720	WALL	Thomas	Cloth Merch.	London	Orphans Court 3113
1721	ELLISON	John	Draper	London	Orphans Court 3153
1721	HODGSON	Thomas	Merchant	London	Orphans Court 3105
1721	PEARKES	James	Fishmonger	London	Orphans Court 3141
1722	ASTLEY	Thomas	Printer	London	Orphans Court 3125
1722	BLACKALL	John	Rentier	Middx	Orphans Court 3176
1722	GOODLAD	John	M/T	Middx	Orphans Court 3150
1722	HALL	Thomas	Hatter	Southwark	Orphans Court 3274
1722	HAZARD	Thomas	Merchant	London	Orphans Court 3252
1722	JOHNSON	Mathias	DRAPER	London	Orphans Court 3229
1722	NICHOLLS	Richard	Goldsmith	London	Orphans Court Roll 191

1722	SADLER	Thomas	Goldsmith	London	Orphans Court 3156
1722	WITHERS	William	Merchant	London	Orphans Court 3210
1723	HEYSHAM	Robert	Ald./Draper	London	Orphans Court 3263
1723	MAYNE	Joseph	MERCER	London	Orphans Court 3147
1723	MONK	John	Dyer	London	Orphans Court 3261
1723	SHERMAN	John	Linen-draper	London	Orphans Court 3169
1723	SHERWOOD	John	Dyer	London	Orphans Court 3189
1724	BEAUMONT	Anselm	Apothecary	London	Orphans Court 3225
1724	BYRON	Lord	Baron	Notts	PRO C108/04
1724	CAZALET	Peter	Shipwright	London	Orphans Court 3226
1724	Longbottom	James	Silkman	London	Orphans Court 3215
1724	TAYLOR	William	Bookseller	London	Orphans Court 3265
1725	BOSWORTH	Edward	Cheesemonger	London	Orphans Court 3241
1725	CHOLMLEY	William	Hopmerchant	London	Orphans Court 3200
1725	COX	Thomas	Cooper	London	Orphans Court 3254
1725	HALL	John	Blacksmith	London	Orphans Court 3251
1725	PENNYCOD	William	Yeoman	Sussex	Sussex Arch. 93 (1955) No.59
1725	PETTIT	James	MERCER	London	Orphans Court 3349
1725	ROBERTS	Adam	Merchant	London	Orphans Court 3276
1725	TAPPS	Richard	M/T	London	Orphans Court 3232
1725	WELLS	John	FISH	London	Orphans Court 3228
1726	BARRETT	Philip	Stationer	London	Orphans Court 3246
1726	DANIEL	Henry	Leatherseller	London	Orphans Court 3327
1726	GARLICHE	William	Cheesemonger	London	Orphans Court 3260
1726	JACKSON	Thomas	DRAPER	London	Orphans Court 3290
1726	JOHNSON	Richard	SKINNER	London	Orphans Court 3353
1726	VERE	Samuel	Goldsmith	London	Orphans Court 3244
1726	WOOD	Seymour	Oilman	London	Orphans Court 3275
1727	BRADFORD	John	Draper	London	Orphans Court 3280
1727	FORD	John	Shipowner	London	Orphans Court 3269
1727	JOHNSON	Thomas	Hatter	London	Orphans Court 3281
1727	KEEP	Edward	P/S	Fulham	Orphans Court 3293
1727	SLATER	John	Cloth Merch.	London	Orphans Court 3282
1727	WHITTINGTON	Isaac	HABERD.	London	Orphans Court 3267
1728	BIGNELL	John	Shoemaker	London	Orphans Court 3288
1728	BRUCE	Lord	Son of Earl	Houghton	Curtis (1958)*
1728	COLLYER	Samuel	Linen-draper	London	Orphans Court 3307
1728	DRAKE	Isabella	Wid. of Esq.	Bucks	V & A 86YY6
1728	HAMMOND	Francis	Salter	London	Orphans Court 3304
1728	HARE	William	Hop Merch.	London	Orphans Court 3299
1728	RAYNE	Robert	Mercer	London	Orphans Court 3262
1728	REVELL	Henry	Merchant	London	Orphans Court 3301
1728	SANDWELL	James	Tob. Shred.	London	Orphans Court 3292
1728	SAYER	Joseph	Mercer	London	Orphans Court 3279
1728	SHEPPARD	Thomas	Coff.House Op.	London	Orphans Court 3298
1728	SMITH	William	Hatter	London	Orphans Court 3303
1728	TYLER	George	Clockmaker	London	Orphans Court 3277
1729	AYNSWORTH	Stephen	Linen-draper	London	Orphans Court Roll 192
1729	BRANCH	Isaac	Coff.House Op.	London	Orphans Court 3297
1729	DALTON	Andrew	Goldsmith	London	Orphans Court 3300
1729	FOLKINGHAM	Thomas	Goldsmith	London	Orphans Court 3330
1729	ROBINSON	William	Sackmaker	London	Orphans Court 3295
1729	ROWLEY	John	Coff.House Op.	London	Orphans Court 3315
1729	SEABROOK	William	Timber Merch.	London	Orphans Court 3314
1729	SHEPPARD	William	Woolman	London	Orphans Court 3312
1729	WACKETT	John	Farrier	London	Orphans Court 3324
1730	BRACKSTON	John	Apothecary	London	Orphans Court 3308
1730	COGAN	Thomas	Plaisterer	London	Orphans Court 3319
1730	HOAR	Thomas	Pewterer	London	Orphans Court 3321
1730	HODGKIN	Joseph	Distiller	London	Orphans Court 3341
1730	JENNELLS	John	Dyer	London	Orphans Court 3291
1730	PRIME	Samuel	Wine Merch.	London	Orphans Court 3310
1730	SOUTHUSE	Henry	Soapmaker	London	Orphans Court 3385
1730	TRUBSHAW	William	Haberd.	London	Orphans Court 3302
1730	WAYAN	Jacob	Mercer	London	Orphans Court 3335
1731	CROWLEY	John	Ironmonger	London	Orphans Court 3322
1731	JAKEMAN	Samuel	Joiner	London	Orphans Court 3332
1731	PARGETER	Joseph	Apothecary	London	Orphans Court 3320
1731	TWISTLETON	Fiennes	Esq.	Oxon	Banbury 8 (1981), 157
1732	HILLIARD	Thomas	Undertaker	London	Orphans Court 3323
1732	MIDDLETON	John	Bodice Maker	London	Orphans Court 3328

1732	SMITH	Cuthbert	Distiller	London	Orphans Court 3334
1733	ATWOOD	Savage	Brazier	London	Orphans Court 3339
1733	CHILTON	Thomas	Yeoman	Westbury	Moore (1981)*, No. 233
1733	HYDE	Thomas	MERCER	London	Orphans Court 3338
1734	BATCHELOR	John	Silk Weaver	London	Orphans Court 3360
1734	TOMPSON	William	Cloth Merch.	London	Orphans Court 3344
1735	REBOW	Isaac	Esq.	Colchester	Essex Arch. 14NS (1918), 16
1735	TASH	Sir John	Wine Merch.	London	Orphans Court 3351
1736	BLUNKETT	Edward	FISH	London	Orphans Court 3352
1736	ELLERY	John	Dyer of Hats	London	Orphans Court Roll 220
1736	MARKES	William	Glover	London	Orphans Court 3355
1737	ASHURST	William	SALTER	Essex	Orphans Court 3363
1737	PAGE	Gilbert	B/S	Middx	Orphans Court 3364
1738	BRIDGEMAN	Charles	Royal Gardener	Westminster	Blackmansbury 7 (1970), 88
1740	HELMES	James	Coachmaker	Middx	Orphans Court 3390
1740	NORRIS	Self	Tea & Coff. Merch.	London	Orphans Court 3381
1740	ROBINS	John	B/S	London	Orphans Court 3388
1740	SPELLING	William	Merch.	London	Orphans Court 3384
1741	SMYTH	Sir John	Baronet	Somerset	Moore (1976)*, App.2
1742	BOWERS	John	Mercer	London	Orphans Court Roll 211
1742	CLARKE	Combes	Linen-drapeer	London	Orphans Court Roll 202
1747	CAPRON	Elizabeth	Widow	Sussex	Sussex Arch.51 (1908), 115

## APPENDIX B IMPORTS AND RE-EXPORTS

### APPENDIX B1 VALUATIONS FROM INSPECTOR GENERAL'S LEDGERS

For each entry an estimate of the original cost or value is given. Thus there are variations between the valuations from different countries, for example, damask tabling from Holland in 1696/97 was valued at 3s 9d/yd whereas that from Flanders was 4s/yd. In most years such variations did not occur although the values of Sletia damask shipped from Germany were often a little higher than those from elsewhere. There are striking differences between the values in the Ledgers and those of the Books of Rates. Those in the Ledgers were all much lower and the differentials between cloth woven in the Low Countries and in Germany were considerably smaller.

Typical examples of average valuations from the Inspector General's ledgers:-

	1696/7	1700	1710	1730	1730	1740	1750
<b>FROM HOLLAND</b>							
Dam. Tab. Holl	3s 9d	2s 9d	2s 6d	2s 6d	2s 6d	2s 6d	2s 6d
Dam. Nap. Holl.	1s 3d	1s 3d	1s 4d	1s 4d	1s 4 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> d	1s 7d	1s 4d
Diap. Tab. Holl.	2s 9d	2s 1 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> d	2s 3d	2s 3d	2s 3d	2s 3d	2s 3d
Diap. Nap. Holl.	11d	9d	9d	9d	9d	9d	9d
<b>FROM GERMANY</b>							
Dam. Tab. Sil.	2s 8d	2s 1 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> d	2s 3d	2s 3d	2s 3d	2s 3d	2s 3d
Dam. Nap. Sil.	11d	9d	10d	10d	10d	10d	9 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> d
Diap. Tab. Sil.	1s 6d	1s 9d	1s 9d	1s 9d	1s 9d	1s 10d	1s 9d
Diap. Nap. Sil.	7d	6d	6d	6d	6d	6d	6d

*Note:* During this period, the valuations from the Book of Rates for 'Damask tabling of Holland making' was £1 per yard, and 'Damask tabling of Silesia making' was 4s per yard.

**APPENDIX B2**      **YEARLY IMPORTS OF LOW COUNTRIES DAMASK AND  
DIAPER INTO THE PORT OF LONDON, 1565-1697**  
(Equivalent lengths in 'yds', calculated from entries in the  
London port books)

YEAR	MERCHANT STRANGERS		REF.	ENGLISH MERCHANTS		REF.
	DAMASK	DIAPER	PRO/E/190/	DAMASK	DIAPER	PRO/E/190/
1565*	-	-		1120	1740	3/2
1566	-	-		-	-	
1567	-	-		630	610	4/2
1568 <sup>a</sup>	-	-		-	-	
1569	-	-		-	-	
1570	-	-		-	-	
1571	-	-		-	-	
1572 <sup>a</sup>	-	-		670	400	5/5
1573	-	-		-	-	
1574**	-	-		120	1390	6/3
1575	-	-		-	-	
1576	-	-		-	-	
1577	-	-		-	-	
1578	-	-		-	-	
1579	-	-		-	-	
1580	-	-		-	-	
1581	-	-		-	-	
1582	-	-		-	-	
1583	-	-		-	-	
1584	-	-		-	-	
1584	-	-		-	-	
1585	-	-		-	-	
1586	-	-		-	-	
1587	-	-		-	-	
1588*	-	-		nil	170	8/1
1589	1490	3320	8/2	-	-	
1590	-	-		-	-	
1591	-	-		-	-	
1592	-	-		-	-	
1593*	2760	940	9/5	-	-	
1594	-	-		-	-	
1595	-	-		-	-	
1598	-	-		-	-	
1599	-	-		-	-	
1600 <sup>a</sup>	5780 <sup>a</sup>	1920	11/1, 11/3	-	-	
1601	-	-		-	-	
1602	-	-		-	-	
1603	-	-		-	-	
1604	-	-		-	-	
1605	-	-		-	-	
1606	-	-		-	-	
1607	-	-		-	-	
1608	-	-		-	-	
1609 <sup>b</sup>	12760	23420	14/5	-	-	
1610	9110	17130	15/5	-	-	
1611*	54550	12150	16/5	-	-	
1612*	-	-		-	-	
1613*	9160	9640	17/1	-	-	
1616	3660	9780	20/6	-	-	
1617	10070	22000	21/4	-	-	
1618	6660	22590	22/10	-	-	
1621	-	-		4810	29440	24/4
1622	1400	1520	26/2	-	-	
1623	-	-		-	-	
1624	2210	13200	27/1	-	-	

YEAR	MERCHANT STRANGERS		REF.	ENGLISH MERCHANTS		REF.
	DAMASK	DIAPER	PRO/E/190/	DAMASK	DIAPER	PRO/E/190/
1625	1970	5840	29/3	-	-	
1626	-	-		7050	44840	31/3
1627	650	3950	30/2, 32/1	-	-	
1628	-	-		-	-	
1629	2140	12800	33/2	-	-	
1630	-	-		3930	55680	34/2, 35/4
1631	7810	17200	35/6	-	-	
1632	2100	10520	37/6	-	-	
1633	5580	20210	37/8	450	39090	38/1
1634	-	-		9000	60980	38/5
1635	-	-		-	-	
1636	3670	24690	39/4, 40/2	-	-	
1637	510	10500	40/6	-	-	
1638	nil	12720	41/1	1700	12920	42/1
1639	-	-		-	-	
1640	-	-		2030	36170	43/5
<b>N.B. HIATUS DURING THE CIVIL WAR AND COMMONWEALTH</b>						
1662	nil	nil	48/7	-	-	
1663	-	-		-	-	
1664	-	-		-	-	
1665	-	-		-	-	
1666	-	-		-	-	
1668	nil	nil	52/2 & 5	-	-	
1669	340	nil	52/4	-	-	
1670	-	-		-	-	
1671	550	1500	53/4	-	-	
1672	1280	190	53/5, /7, /9	14880	32310	56/1, 58/1
1673	350	190	57/7	-	-	
1674	-	-		-	-	
1675	-	-		-	-	
1676	120	20	63/5, /7	5070	29030	64/1, 65/1
1677	80	30	66/1, /2, /6	6090	15000	68/1, 69/1 77/1
1678	-	30	73/2, 74/4	3460	11820	75/1, 78/1, 83/1
1679	nil	58	89/4	-	-	
1680	-	nil	88/7, 89/3	4520	22220	92/1, 93/1
1681	50	20	95/9	2310	19780	101/2, 102/1
1682	-	nil	114/6	5410	40690	116/1
1683	20	150	114/1	5600	14310	121/1
1684	nil	60	119/1, /3	-	-	
1685	-	20	126/6, 128/5	19620	38790	131/1, 133/1
1686	380	80	136/1, 137/2, /9	15070	23130	143/1 <sup>d</sup> , 137/2 <sup>e</sup>
1687	360	1030	140/5, 141/8		-	
1688	100	20	144/9	-	-	
1689	-	-		-	-	
1690	-	-		-	-	
1691	-	-		-	-	
1692	-	-		-	-	
1693	1020	660	149/3	-	-	
1694	1110	540	149/4	-	-	
1695	-	-		-	-	
1696	190	500	155/1, 156/3	3830	19250	157/1, 158/1
1697	280	90	159/4	-	-	

*Notes*

\* Six month periods, Lady Day (25 March) until Michaelmas (29 September).  
Quantities shown in italics.

\*\* Six months periods, Michaelmas (29 September) until Lady Day (25 March).



- a Period of one year from Michaelmas (29 September) until Michaelmas.
- b This, and all subsequent entries are for a period of one year from Christmas. At this period, the year changed on Lady Day (25 March) and the entries are for 1608/9. To simplify the table the modern usage of the change of the year on 1 January has been adopted.
- c The quantities are given as equivalent lengths which are calculated by multiplying the length in yards of tabling by three and adding the length in yards of napkinning. The justification for such calculation is that tabling was generally three ells wide whilst napkinning was an ell in width. Inevitably this leads to inaccuracy, as some damask tabling was four ells wide and at certain periods damask napkinning was five quarters of an ell in width whilst diaper tabling was woven in two and ten quarters of an ell in width. However, it seems the best comparative measure as the alternative of using valuation is more difficult: generally the 'ad valorem' rates take no account of width and they also changed at various times (see Appendix 4A).
- d 143/1 Incomplete. First entry 4 February, last entry 5 October 1686.
- e 137/2. In addition to Merchant Strangers entries, it contains Merchant Denizens between 26 November and 24 December 1686.

**APPENDIX B3 YEARLY IMPORTS OF LOW COUNTRIES DAMASK AND DIAPER INTO ALL ENGLISH PORTS, 1697-1760**  
(Equivalent lengths in 'yds' calculated from entries in Inspector General's ledger)

YEAR	'HOLLAND' DAMASK				'HOLLAND' DIAPER				REF. CUST. 3/
	From FLANDERS	From HOLLAND	From ELSE- WHERE	TOTAL	From FLANDERS	From HOLLAND	From ELSE- WHERE	TOTAL	
1696/7 <sup>a</sup>	2550	1810	-	4360	5570	5060	-	10630	81
1697/8	3720	1690	3780	9190	21720	5030	2760	29510	1
1699 <sup>b</sup>	20	4990	-	5010	210	33900	-	34010	3
1700	-	500	-	500	-	60	-	60	4
01	-	360	-	360	-	2530	-	2530	5
02	-	60	1520	1580	-	5350	390	5740	6
03	-	14800	4970	19770	-	29230	800	30030	7
04	-	3570	1250	3720	-	23940	-	23940	8
05	LEDGER MISSING FOR THIS YEAR								
06	-	1560	-	1560	-	5000	-	5000	9
07	-	470	-	470	30	2050	-	2080	10
08	200	220	-	420	3230	1960	-	5190	11
09	-	1090	-	1090	-	4900	-	4900	12
1710	10	990	60	1060	-	4590	50	4640	13
11	500	1300	-	1800	720	13280	-	14000	14
12	LEDGER MISSING FOR THIS YEAR								
13	1860	1050	-	2910	6110	4090	100	10300	15
14	1000	4240	-	5240	5160	9950	140	15250	16
15	2630	1160	-	3790	12430	12280	-	24710	17
16	3810	6430	-	10240	8700	7290	-	15990	18
17	3400	3340	-	6740	19050	7960	30	27040	19
18	4010	1770	-	5780	9970	53180	160	63310	20
19	1530	1420	-	2950	7660	7690	-	15350	21
1720	1050	4380	-	5430	5190	8350	-	13540	22
21	2540	4020	-	6560	11300	10160	80	21540	23
22	1890	1620	-	3510	13290	7340	-	20630	24
23	3030	4250	-	7280	14330	4560	10	18900	25
24	-	2520	-	2520	14710	9990	120	24820	26
25	2200	2960	-	5160	7590	10580	-	18170	27
26	2250	1460	-	3710	13230	6830	-	20060	28A
27	40	-	-	40	370	10370	10	10750	82
28	2490	1410	-	3900	13740	9030	-	22770	28B
29	5000	1460	-	6460	13350	8450	-	21800	29
1730	2050	1330	-	3380	6720	5520	-	12240	30
31	3360	2830	10	6200	10510	5870	350	16730	31
32	4190	3660	10	7860	12400	12370	-	24770	32
33	2290	110	-	2400	10070	1450	-	11520	33
34	3050	980	-	4030	11630	2050	40	13720	34
35	2920	2780	-	5700	7960	5230	130	13320	35
36	3320	700	-	4010	12820	14080	10	26910	36
37	3260	790	20	4070	9910	7680	-	17590	37
38	1740	1010	-	2750	6090	1400	100	7600	38
39	300	330	-	630	2400	1910	-	4310	39
1740	3150	240	-	3390	980	320	-	1300	40
41	30	1660	-	1690	1910	590	-	2500	41
42	220	90	-	310	570	350	-	920	42
43	160	230	-	390	1070	1240	-	2310	43
44	20	750	-	770	790	2060	-	2850	44
45	90	100	-	190	1240	90	-	1330	45
46	-	970	-	970	-	670	-	670	46
47	-	370	-	370	-	1480	-	1480	47
48	-	30	-	30	-	150	200	350	48
51	220	200	-	420	80	150	-	230	51

YEAR	'HOLLAND' DAMASK				'HOLLAND' DIAPER				REF. CUST. 3/
	From FLANDERS	From HOLLAND	From ELSE- WHERE	TOTAL	From FLANDERS	From HOLLAND	From ELSE- WHERE	TOTAL	
52	-	30	-	30	-	150	-	150	52
53	-	40	-	40	-	300	-	300	53
54	-	410	-	410	-	-	-	-	54
55	-	-	-	-	-	640	-	640	55
56	-	260	-	260	-	140	-	140	56
57	-	40	-	40	-	420	-	420	57
58	-	-	-	-	170	780	-	950	58
59	-	-	-	-	-	30	-	30	59
1760	230	-	-	230	-	-	-	-	60

*Notes*

- a CUST.3/81 and CUST.3/1 run from Michaelmas, 29 September 1696, until Michaelmas 1698.  
b CUST 3/3 runs from Christmas 1698 until Christmas 1699. At this time the year changed at Lady Day, but the table adopts the modern usage of 1 January.

**APPENDIX B4 YEARLY IMPORTS OF SLETIA DAMASK AND DIAPER  
INTO THE PORT OF LONDON, 1588-1697**  
(Equivalent lengths in 'yds' calculated from entries in the London  
port books)

YEAR	MERCHANT STRANGERS		REF.	ENGLISH MERCHANTS		REF. PRO/ E190/
	SLETIA DAMASK	SLETIA DIAPER		SLETIA DAMASK	SLETIA DIAPER	
1588*	-	-		nil	10800	8/1
1589*	nil	nil	8/2	nil	10110	8/44
1590	-	-		-	-	
1591	-	-		-	-	
1592	-	-		-	-	
1593*	nil	nil	9/5	-	-	
1594	-	-		-	-	
1595	-	-		-	-	
1596	-	-		-	-	
1597	-	-		-	-	
1598	-	-		-	-	
1599	-	-		-	-	
1600 <sup>b</sup>	nil	nil	11/1 & 3	-	-	
1601	-	-		-	-	
1602	-	-		-	-	
1603	-	-		-	-	
1604	-	-		-	-	
1605	-	-		-	-	
1606	-	-		-	-	
1607	-	-		-	-	
1608	-	-		-	-	
1609 <sup>c</sup>	nil	39210	14/5	-	-	
1610	nil	5520	15/5	-	-	
1611*	190	8950	16/5	-	-	
1612	-	-		-	-	
1613*	nil	21930	17/1	-	-	
1614	-	-		-	-	
1615	nil	27590	18/6	-	-	
1616	nil	18920	20/6	-	-	
1617	840	17580	21/4	-	-	
1618	930	21960	22/10	-	-	
1619*	nil	9050	23/4	-	-	
1620	-	-		-	-	
1621	-	-		480	28850	24/4
1622	nil	10610	26/2	-	-	
1623	-	-		-	-	
1624	nil	19550	27/1	-	-	
1625	nil	nil	29/3	-	-	
1626	-	-		nil	12760	31//3
1627	nil	30	30//2, 32/1	-	-	
1628	-	-		-	-	
1629	nil	1320	33/2	-	-	
1630	-	-		420	92560	34/22, 35/4
1631	nil	12800	35/6	-	-	
1632	nil	nil	37/6	-	-	
1633	150	7590	37/8	320	10570	38/1
1634	-	-		1870	32720	38/5
1635	-	-		-	-	
1636	nil	120	39/4, 40/2	-	-	

YEAR	MERCHANT STRANGERS		REF.	ENGLISH MERCHANTS		REF. PRO/E E190/
	SLETIA DAMASK	SLETIA DIAPER		SLETIA DAMASK	SLETIA DIAPER	
1637	nil	nil	40/6			
1638	nil	-	41/1	nil	15100	42/1
1640	-	-		nil	73640	43/5
HIATUS DURING CIVIL WAR AND COMMONWEALTH						
1662	nil	57709	48/7	-	-	
1663	-	-		-	-	
1664	-	-		-	-	
1665	-	-		-	-	
1666	-	-		-	-	
1667	-	-		-	-	
1668	nil	2790	52/2 & 5	-	-	
1669	nil	1850	52/4	-	-	
1670	-	-		-	-	
1671	nil	2430	53/4	-	-	
1672	nil	13330	53/5, 7 & 9	nil	170180	56/1, 58/1
1673	nil	29370	57/7	-	-	
1674	-	-		-	-	
1675	-	-		-	-	
1676	nil	36020	63/5 & 7	20	280240	64/1, 65/1
1677	nil	37080	66/1, 2 & 6	2980	327870	68/1, 69/1, 77/1
1678	130	12640	73/2, 74/4	9420	317227	75/1, 78/1, 83/1
1679	nil	nil	89/4	-	-	
1680	nil	9910	88/7. 89/3	11268	224200 <sup>f</sup>	92/1, 93/1
1681	nil	980	95/9	31680	294450 <sup>f</sup>	101/1, 102/1
1682	nil	320	114/6	41400	387210 <sup>f</sup>	116/1
1683	420	310	114/1	50770	561120 <sup>f</sup>	121/1 <sup>c</sup>
1684	550	40	191/1 & 3	-	-	
1685	nil	310	126/6, 128/5	14920	322140	131/1, 133/3
1686	nil	90	136/1, 137/2 & 9	25990	204430	137/2 <sup>e</sup> , 143/1 <sup>d</sup>
1687	20	220	140/5, 141/8	-	-	
1688	70	150	144/9	-	-	
1689	-	-		-	-	
1690	-	-		-	-	
1691	-	-		-	-	
1692	-	-		-	-	
1693	nil	220	149/3	-	-	
1694	150	2340	149/4	-	-	
1695	-	-		-	-	
1696	130	170	155/1, 156/3	81110	358920	151/1, 158/1
1697	270	7290	159/4	-	-	

*Notes*

- \* Six month periods, Lady Day (25 March) until Michaelmas (29 September).

**Refs** Quantities shown in italics.

- a E190//8/4 is badly damaged - just entries between 1 July and 17 September 1589 used.
- b Twelve month period from Michaelmas 1599. Thereafter periods are Christmas to Christmas.
- c E190/121/1 is incomplete, finishing on 6 December 1683.
- d E190/143/1 is incomplete: first entry is 4 February and last entry 5 October 1686.
- e E190/137/2 in addition to Merchant Strangers entries, contains Merchant Denizen entries between 26 November and 24 December 1686.
- f These totals include French diaper purporting to be Sletia - see Table 4.5.



**APPENDIX B5 YEARLY IMPORTS OF SLETIA DAMASK AND DIAPER INTO  
ALL ENGLISH PORTS, 1697-1760**  
(Equivalent lengths in 'yds', calculated from entries in the Inspector General's  
Ledger)

YEAR	SLETIA DAMASK	SLETIA DIAPER	TOTAL	YEAR	SLETIA DAMASK	SLETIA DIAPER	TOTAL
1696/7 <sup>a</sup>	61,180	231,860	293,040	1729	127,990	166,270	294,260
1697/8 <sup>b</sup>	37,350	243,870	281,220	1730	131,540	173,280	304,820
1699 <sup>c</sup>	113,370	283,480	396,850	1731	113,140	120,720	233,860
1700	98,020	267,100	365,120	1732	149,170	217,770	366,940
1701	137,580	324,530	462,110	1733	213,730	271,240	484,970
1702	59,860	249,040	308,900	1734	183,450	205,800	389,250
1703	91,120	432,420	523,540	1735	144,890	243,530	388,420
1704	115,720	491,740	607,460	1736	153,530	286,546	440,070
1705	LEDGER MISSING FOR THIS YEAR			1737	163,870	439,870	603,740
1706	33,390	62,060	95,450	1738	183,910	184,660	368,570
1707	82,060	217,840	299,900	1739	184,020	161,200	345,220
1708	48,810	104,850	153,660	1740	200,620	226,990	427,610
1709	158,840	215,790	374,630	1741	186,000	306,000	392,000
1710	126,420	149,290	275,710	1742	106,710	180,340	287,050
1711	121,100	75,060	196,160	1743	88,270	198,510	286,780
1712	LEDGER MISSING FOR THIS YEAR			1744	120,940	164,090	285,030
1713	66,170	147,380	213,550	1745	165,800	181,240	347,040
1714	116,330	206,470	322,800	1746	141,710	162,100	303,810
1715	103,800	174,550	278,350	1747	168,990	215,260	384,250
1716	119,740	206,320	326,060	1748	245,840	320,530	566,370
1717	169,910	182,590	352,500	1749	241,130	290,180	531,310
1718	154,580	163,280	317,860	1750	227,830	231,980	459,810
1719	267,290	255,800	523,090	1751	157,890	176,950	334,840
1720	166,590	180,350	346,940	1752	191,270	182,800	374,070
1721	86,400	167,880	254,280	1753	160,460	187,860	348,320
1722	76,800	97,300	174,100	1754	175,560	201,380	376,940
1723	103,470	63,119	166,580	1755	103,700	155,790	259,490
1724	106,990	202,990	309,980	1756	215,600	214,400	430,000
1725	140,781	196,660	337,441	1757	136,460	144,830	281,290
1726	169,990	288,010	458,000	1758	180,020	248,430	428,450
1727	165,780	304,640	470,420	1759	166,880	185,200	352,080
1728	183,550	225,750	409,300	1760	70,600	167,990	238,570

**Notes**

- <sup>a</sup> CUST. 3/81 and CUST. 3/1 run from Michaelmas, 29 September 1696, until Michaelmas 1698.  
<sup>b</sup> CUST. 3/3 runs from Christmas 1698 until Christmas 1699. At this time the year changed at Lady Day, 25 March, but the table adopts the modern usage of 1 January.  
<sup>c</sup> For document references from 1699 to 1760, see Appendix B3.

**APPENDIX B6    IMPORTS AND RE-EXPORTS BY VALUE (£)**  
**(Five-yearly intervals 1700-1750<sup>a</sup>)**

YEAR	'HOLLAND' DAMASK AND DIAPER		SLETIA DAMASK		SLETIA DIAPER		RUSSIAN DIAPER		SLETIA DAMASK, DIAPER AND RUSSIAN DIAPER	
	IMP- ORTS	RE- EXPORTS	IMP- ORTS	RE- EXPORTS	IMP- ORTS	RE- EXPORTS	IMP- ORTS	RE- EXPORTS	IMP- ORTS	RE- EXPORTS
1700 <sup>b</sup>	28	40	3585	327	6886	579	-	-	10471	906
1706 <sup>c</sup>	276	-	1320	73	1794	231	4	-	3123	304
1710	233	12	4968	264	4006	428	1637	198	10611	890
1715	1154	15	4137	242	4559	1274	1288	255	9984	1771
1720	818	38	6633	144	4793	412	2789	41	14215	597
1725	961	59	5576	275	5211	1190	787	1	11574	1466
1730	679	221 <sup>d</sup>	5241	568	4728	834	5914	777	15883	2179
1735	474	12	5669	671	6721	1179	1227	128	13617	1978
1740	249	-	7791	630	6663	1609	4341	740	18795	2979
1745	74	6	6619	612	4956	1067	92	18	11667	1697
1750	52	3	9013	706	6257	1679	6018	298	21288	2683

**Notes**

- a Prepared from PRO, CUST.3 Series, Inspector General's ledgers
- b This year is Michaelmas 1699 until Michaelmas 1700. Subsequent years are Christmas until Christmas. Although at this period it changed on Lady Day, 25 March, modern usage has been followed in this table with the year changing on 1 January.
- c Ledger for 1705 is missing.
- d Most of this was diaper 're-exported' to Holland - possibly it was returned as it was faulty or of the wrong pattern.

## APPENDIX C LONDON LINEN DRAPERS

## APPENDIX C1

Linen drapers from 1692 Poll Tax Returns (CMH Database)<sup>†</sup>

WARD Precinct	NAME	Rack Rent £	Stocks	Menser- vants inc. Apprentices <sup>a</sup>	Women- servants
ALDGATE					
1st	Thomas PARKER	52	400	2	1
5th	William TAGGIRT	14	100	-	-
"	William MILLS	-	-	-	1
BISHOPSGATE WITHIN Allhallows	Samuel NEALE	48	150	2	1
BISHOPSGATE WITHOUT					
1st Division	Peter WARE	-	-	1	1
"	John ACROD	40	200	1	2
"	Samuel BEAVIS	-	-	2	2
"	Francis ROBERTS	35	-	1	1
2nd Division	John BOUDLE	18	50	-	1
BREAD STREET					
St Peter & St Mary	Edward FOWLER	-	-	1	-
Upper Allhallows	John DENNITT	36	300	2	1
"	Isaac ASH	36	200	1	1
Lower Allhallows	James HULBERT	50	300	1	1
"	Robert ERRICK	-	100	-	1
Upper St Margaret	Benjamin NICHOLLS	36	150	1	2
Lower St Margaret	Edmund STURTEVANT	40	100	1	2
St John	Joseph SERIVEN	40	400	2	2
"	Daniel SMALL	40	300	2	2
"	John GRAY	44	200	2	2
"	Stephen BLACKWELL	40	250	1	2
"	Joseph WHEATHAM	40	100	-	1
St Matthew	William SWANN	60	250	-	-
"	William TIPPIN	-	-	-	-
"	John GILES	38	150	2	1
"	Thomas WARD	40	300	2	1
"	John HOLKER	-	125	-	-
BRIDGE					
London Bridge 2nd	Jonathan HARDY	-	-	2	-
"	William MANNIARD	35	150	1	1
Upper St Margaret	William CHAMBERS	60	500	[3] <sup>b</sup>	[1]
"	James EYTON	65	400	[3]	[1]
Lower St Leonard	Anthony TWINE	46	200	1	1
"	Gavin CORBIN	45	350	1	2
"	Thomas CORBIN	-	-	-	-
CANDLEWICK					
St Lawrence	Joseph DICKSON	-	-	-	1
CHEAP					
St Mary le Bow	Robert GREENE	80	150	2	1
"	William WITHERS	90	400	3	2
"	Arthur EVANS	100	200	2	2
"	Richard EVANS	-	-	-	-
"	John HERNE	60	100	2	-
"	Ezekiel MOLLY	-	-	2	1
"	John WILCOX	70	150	-	-
Allhallows	Thomas PILKIN	-	-	2	1
"	Samuel HARRIS	100	250	-	-
"	Joseph HARDY	60	150	2	-
"	James TAYLOR	64	150	2	1
"	Edward DOYLY	60	200	3	1
"	John GREENWOOD	-	-	-	-
St Lawrence Lane	Nicholas CAPLIN	50	500	3	1
St Martin	Nevell HAMMERTON	-	50	-	-
"	John BELCHER	40	150	-	1
St Mary	Benjamin ANTROBUS	80	150	1	1
"	Roger COUSINS	-	-	1	1
St Pancras	Robert BROUGH	136	600	4	3
"	Thomas CAREY	90	150	3	2
"	Francis CAMFIELD	45	150	1	2
"	William ARNOLD	116	250	5	1

WARD Precinct	NAME		Rack Rent £	Stocks £	Menser- vants inc. Apprentices <sup>a</sup>	Women- servants
CORNHILL						
1st	Richard	CHAUNCEY	150	300	2	2
"	John	SHERGOLD	80	-	1	2
"	John	HOPKINS	74	300	1	1
"	Thomas	COLLINS	70	300	2	2
"	Davison	BRUNING	76	200	2	2
"	Edward	HALL	-	-	-	-
"	Henry	CLARKE	100	200	-	1
"	John	VINCENT	-	-	-	-
"	Samuel	WOOD	90	200	1	2
2nd	John	ROADS	100	200	3	2
"	Robert	BUCKBY	-	-	-	-
"	Mathew	COLLETT	160	400	4	1
"	James	MORTON	-	-	-	-
"	William	BRIDGES	110	400	2	2
"	Edward	HANCOCK	-	-	-	-
"	Richard	BOWATER	90	600	6	1
"	Samuel	ONGLEY	80	650	5	2
"	Jonathan	TROUGHTON	-	-	-	-
"	John	DEBNAM	40	200	1	2
"	John	HARTE	-	-	3	1
"	Gabrill	GLOVER	46	-	-	1
"	John	STRIXON	60	200	1	2
"	Benjamin	THOROWGOOD	100	800	4	1
"	John	BOOKEY	-	200	-	-
"	John	HIDE	-	-	-	-
"	John	COOKS	80	400	6	2
"	William	COOKS	-	-	-	-
"	James	MOHAIRE	-	-	5	1
"	Oliver	ANDREWS	180	400	1	1
"	Alexander	BURNET	-	-	2	1
"	John	BURNET	100	100	-	-
"	Thomas	PHIPPS	100	400	4	2
"	John	COOPER	80	200	3	2
"	Thomas	ABNEY	180	800	8	-
"	Henry	KELSEY	-	200	-	4
"	Charles	YATES	70	200	2	1
"	Francis	BREREWOOD	60	400	3	2
"	John	BERTLESSE	80	200	3	1
"	Tobias	GARBRAND	45	150	3	1
"	Robert	GARBRAND	-	-	-	-
3rd	Thomas	SALTER	118	400	4	2
"	Henry	BUCK	-	200	-	-
"	Robert	YARDLEY	-	-	-	-
"	Luke	FORSTER	100	100	2	1
DOWGATE						
St Michael, St Mary & St John	Robert	JONES	30	150	[2]	[1]
FARRINGDON						
WITHIN						
St Peter	John	MEYNEL	85	400	4	2
"	John	MEYNEL	-	-	-	-
"	John	CUTLOVE	89	400	4	3
Sadler's Hall & Gutter Lane	John	JENKINS	60	100	1	1
" "	John	STEVENS	64	100	2	1
" "	Edward	SERGEANT	60	500	1	2
" "	Robert	KEY	-	100	1	-
" "	William	DURRANT	60	400	4	2
North St Michael	Abel	WILKINSON	80	-	2	1
" "	William	BROOME	56	350	-	1
Christchurch 2nd	William	PROCTOR	32	300	1	2
" "	James	PARKER	64	350	1	1
" "	Edmund	PARKER	50	300	4	1
St Ewin's	Augustine	DRY	27	150	-	1
"	Benjamin	SMITH	65	300	1	1
St Sepulchre	James	BENNETT	40	300	1	1
"	James	BLACKLEY	-	-	-	-
"	Benjamin	WILSON	40	200	1	2

WARD Precinct	NAME	Rack Rent £	Stocks £	Menser- vants inc. Apprenticesa	Women- servants
FARRINGDON WITHOUT		38	100	1	-
St Andrews Church	Thomas HASTINGS	35	200	1	1
" "	Edmund LIGHTFOOTE				
LANGBOURNE Gracechurch Street	Samuel POUND	60	400	2	2
LIME STREET					
1st	John INGLE	56	200	1	1
"	James READ	45	150	1	1
"	John GIBSON	-	-	-	-
"	Richard ACTON	110	300	1	2
"	Thomas PARROTT	-	200	-	1
PORTSOKEN					
Tower Hill	Anthony PALMER	40	150	-	1
Houndsditch	John GAWTHORN	80	300	-	-
"	William BARRON	-	-	2	2
"	William ANDREWS	80	200	2	2

*Notes*

- a Some precincts list apprentices separately whilst others include them with menservants. To avoid confusion, they have all been included in the table as menservants.
- b A few precincts group men and women servants together as miscellaneous servants. These have been split by the author and are shown in square brackets.

## APPENDIX C2

*Linen drapers from 1730 letter*

(Arch. Brants 1344; Nathaniel Adams to J. I. de Neufville, 21 August 1730)

Nathaniel Turner & Co.	Fleet Street
Bonfoy	Newgate Street
Heron & Arnold	Cheapside
David Barclay	Cheapside
Thomas Smith & Son	Cheapside
Clavering & Trollop	Cheapside
Andrews & Co.	Cheapside
Needham	Cheapside
Hougham & Gibson	Cheapside
Mr Swan	At the Seven Stars in Fryday Street
Pain	Bowchurch Yard
John Higden, jnr	Milk Street
John Billers & Co.	Cornhill
Chase & Harvey	Cornhill
Nathaniel Foche	Cornhill
Jasper Walters & Sons	Cornhill
Richard Chauncey & Son	Cornhill
Charles Chauncey & Co.	Cornhill
Rowe & Lemon	Cornhill
William & Henry Pomeroy	Leadenhall Street
Eccleston & How	Gracechurch Street
Elgar Smith & Co.	Aldgate



## APPENDIX C3

*Linen drapers from 1740 Directory*

A Compleat Guide to ... London containing The Names and Places of Abode of the most Eminent Merchants and Traders in London (London, 1740)

ANTOINE	Richard	Gracechurch Street
ASHURST & POND		Cheapside
ATKINS & WYNDHAM		<i>ibid</i> [Austin-friers]
BADDILY	Benjamin	Cheapside near Wood Street
BARKCLAY	David & Alexander	Cheapside
BAILEY, TAPSFIELD, and DRIVE		At the Golden Key, Southwark
BIRCH	Thomas	Aldgate
CADY, PERKINS & WELD		Friday Street
CHASE & HARVEY		Cornhill
CHAUNCEY & BROWN		Cornhill
CHAUNCEY	Richard & Comp	Bucklersbury near Cheapside
CHILD	Henry	Fleet Street
CLIFFE & YEO		Cornhill
COCKSHUTT & FRIE		Cornhill
COE	William	Newgate Street
DOUGLAS	John	Fenchurch Street
DYER & ANTRIM		Stocks market
FITZHUGH & BARTON		Cheapside
FOCHE NATH. & COMP.		Cornhill
GIBSON	John	Cheapside
GOULD	William	Fleet Street
HARRISON & POND		Fenchurch Street
HEYWOOD	James	Fish Street Hill
HOGG	Peregrine	George Yard, Lombard Street
HOWE	Richard	Grasschurch Street
KENDAL	Charles	Leadenhall Street
LAURENCE & LESSINGHAM		Cornhill
LOWRY	Edward	Gracechurch Street
MANSHIP	John	Princes Street nr Stocks Market
MORSON	Thomas	Cornhill
MORTON & BULL		Cornhill
MORTON, GRUBB		
& JEFFERY		Throgmorton Stret
NEWEL	Samuel	Stocks Market
OWEN & CHAMBERLAIN		Cheapside
PHIPPS & FRYER		Bishopsgate Street below Devonshire Street
PLEDGER	Philip & Richard	Leadenhall Street
POMEROY	Wm & Sons	Leadenhall Street
PRESTON	Thomas	Friday Street
REEVE & KING		Newgate Street
ROUNTREE and GRIFDALE		Paternoster Row
RUFFEL & SANDERSON		Stocks Market
SALTER Sir John, LANE,		Cornhill corner of Finch Lane
BROOKS & SALTER		
SCOTT	Joseph	Cornhill
SEDGWICK, CROMPTON		
& PETERS		Cheapside
SHERWOOD	Thomas	Cheapside opp. Bow Church
SMITH	Thomas & Sons	Cheapside
SMITH & BONOVRER		Aldgate
SPILLET	John	Kings Street Cheapside
THOMPSON, WATTS,		
& FELLOWES		Cheapside nr. Bow Church
TOWNSHEND	Chauncey	Cornhill
TRALLOPE	Henry	Friday Street
TURNER	John & Muriel	Fleet Street
TURNER & HODGES		Blowbladder Street
VANDERWALL	Daniel	Cheapside
VOYCE	Benjamin	Cornhill
WATERS	Jasper	Cornhill
WELLS & TRAVERS		Budge Row
WICKS & RADFORD		Cheapside
WILCOX	John	Canon Street
WILLMER	John	Cheapside
WISE & NEWMAN		Without Aldgate
WITTS & PORTER		Friday Street

APPENDIX C4 ORPHANS COURT INVENTORIES OF LINEN DRAPERS AND OVERSEAS LINEN MERCHANTS - DETAILS

CLRO REF.	NAME	COMP.	DATE	ADDRESS	INVENTORY BREAKDOWN								Damask or Diaper in Inventory
					House hold etc	Ready money	Wares & Goods at sea	Invest- ments including leases	Debts received	Total sum	Debts owing to	Debts owing by	
LINEN DRAPERS					£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	
328	Stephen BURMAN	SALT.	1667	St James, Clerkenwell	149	19	335	50	1765	2318	3274	1321	S?
676	William GREENE	CLOT	1670	Friday Street	123	56	1514	50	-	1743	5326	4799	S?
890	Selyard GRESHAM	P/S	1673	Broad Street	75	10	307	-	-	392	835	159	-
Roll 124	Thomas CAME	MERC	1673	St Mary Alderman. & Bristol	357	587	643	-	-	1587	2047	2767	-
Roll 122	Richard READE	M/T	1674	?	?	?	1317	-	-	-	2145	2823	-
1117	Humph. TOOKER	DRAP	1675	St Lawrence, Jewry	67	60	481	-	352	960	338	685	-
1613	Fisher DILKE	SKIN	1680	?	55	1033	1500	60	65	2713	2194	1736	S
1810	Thomas BERRIFFE	M/T	1681	Milk Street	109	36	382	-	-	527	3258	1951	-
2033	Roger GRAY	CLOT	1686	Watling Street	161	749	1993	-	-	2903	3226	1219	S?
2153	Francis JENKES	FISH	1687	London and Hoxton	444	103	1679	2702	2344	7273	> 6000	6524	-
2208	Andrew KENRICK	MERC	1691	Cheapside and Hertfordshire	346	43	3320	-	4924	8633	5111	14770	S/H/F
3013	Richard COCKE	M/T	1714	Princes St, St Mary Woolch.	713	1780	7611	6828	17174	34106	11093	15151	S/H/I/Huc
3059	Richard TURNER	CLOT	1718	Blowbladder St	106	938	3096	-	2302	6442	-	3013	-
3169	John SHERMAN	SKIN	1723	Newgate Street & Woodford	582	1104	2717	150	4747	9300	3674	4439	S/I/R
3307	Sam. COLLYER	MERC	1728	Lombard Street	128	276	1657	-	1775	3837	56	3272	Unspec.
Roll 192	Stephen AYNSWORTH	MERC	1729	St Christopher's	478	19	4000	-	6252	10749	?	?	No details
Roll 202	Combes CLARKE	FISH	1742	St Bartholomew the Less	163	120	1795	-	26	2104	?	?	No details
OVERSEAS LINEN MERCHANTS													
1002	Roger POCOCKE	MERC	1675	Hackney, Middlesex	-	12	-	-	-	10114	1394	2420	No details
1206	James WHITEHALL	CLOT	1676	Philpot Lane	240	334	965	-	243	1782	4006	453	P
1536	John PRESTON	SKIN	1678	Within Aldgate	107	1060	876	-	-	2043	1241	161	S
2403	John ARCHER	MERC	1701	Allhallows in the Wall	290	3514	1109	-	1835	6748	6156	82	-
2718	Peter VANSITTART	FISH	1706*	St Mary Axe	489	7843	16666	31646	-	56664	64620	1427	S
2767	John PARKER	MERC	1706	St Peter's the Poor & Waddon	351	2713	669	4884	5107	13724	911	2530	I
3099	Zedekiah WYATT	DRAP	1721*	Gracechurch St	248	171	2603	2671	3548	9241	1151	5564	-
3210	William WITHERS	FISH	1722	Leadenhall St	736	2614	14253	3800	785	22188	1453	2544	No details

\* Date of Probate rather than compilation.

Notes: S - Sletia damask and diaper  
H - Holland damask and diaper

F - French diaper  
I - Irish diaper

P - Portuguese diaper  
Huc - Huckaback

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## LONDON

*British Library*

Additional	MSS	5702, 29605, 42605, 46189
Egerton	MSS	2435, 2559, 2806, 8798
Harleian	MSS	599, 620, 1419B
Lansdowne	MSS	168
Royal	MSS	App. 89
Sloane	MSS	1494
Stowe	MSS	190

*Corporation of London Record Office*

Mayor's Court Rolls and Depositions

Orphans' Court Inventories: some 310 inventories used - listed in Appendix A

*Goldsmiths' Company*

Wardens' Accounts and Court Minutes. Court Books 0 part 3, S part 1

*Guildhall Library*

Abdy Inventory		3760
Dutch Church records	bills and receipts	7396/3 & 4
	register of members 1617, etc	7402/10
	general register of members	7404
	Deacons' memo. book	7410
Livery Company records	Weavers	4646
	Bakers	5201
	Brown Bakers	5203
	Coopers	5621
	Tallowchandlers	6152/11
	Innholders	6664
	Pewterers	7110
	Armourers	12107
	Vintners	15333/1
	Haberdashers	15860/3 & 4
	Ironmongers	16960
Church registers	St Andrew's Undershaft	4107/2
	Allhallows, Staining	17824
Partnership agreement		20347

*Public Record Office**Chancery*

Patent Rolls	C66/920
Chancery Masters' Exhibits	C104/82, C105/15, C108/04, C109/19 to /24, C114/179

*Customs*

Inspector General's Ledgers, England	CUST.3/1 to 60
" " " , Ireland	CUST.15

*Exchequer*

Wardrobe Accounts, etc	E101; 416/3, 416/5, 416/10, 417/1, 417/3 & /4, 418/9, 419/16, 421/3, 428/5
Pre-1565 Customs Accounts	E122; 73/23 & /34, 78/9, 79/5 & /12, 80/2 & /5, 81/8, 82/2, /3 & /8, 84/9, 85/3 & /7, 86/2, /6 & /8, 194/18, /19, /22, /24 & /25. 203/3 & /4

Book of Rates, 1604	E122; 173/3
Inventories	E154; 2/39, 2/41
Port Books from 1565	E190; some 100 London Port Books used - references in Appendix B2
	Books for all the Outports used for 1685; references in Table 4.2
Miscellaneous Books	E315/160
<i>Lord Chamberlain</i>	
Records of events, etc	LC2; 8
" "	LC5; 1, 3, 87, 180, 193, 196
Great Wardrobe Accounts	LC9; 50 to 56, 70, 100, 104
<i>Land Revenue</i>	
Enrolment books	LR1/119
Misc. books	LR2/121
	LR115, LR116
<i>Lord Steward</i>	
Comptroller's Accounts	LS1; 2 to 105
Creditors Accounts	LS8; 3 to 99
Coronation of 1685	LS9; 49
Books of Contracts	LS13; 17 to 26
Establishment Books	LS13; 30 to 51, 56, 60
Campaign Journals	LS13; 71 to 73, 76, 79, 80
Miscellaneous Books	LS13; 82, 88
Letter Books	LS13; 104 to 106
Minute Books	LS13; 114 to 117
Entry Books of Records	LS13; 168 to 178
Warrant Books	LS13; 251 to 253, 255 to 264
Sir Julius Caesar's records	LS13; 280
<i>Prerogative Court of Canterbury (PCC)</i>	
Inventories, 1417-1660	Prob.2; 1 to 825 - some 400 used in inventory sample; references in Appendix A
Inventories, post 1660	Prob.4; some 25 used in inventory sample - see Appendix A
Inventories and accounts	Prob.5; 2837
Administrations	Prob.6; 23
Registered copy wills	Prob.11
<i>State Papers</i>	
Henry VIII, General	SP1; 27, 42, 70, 82, 136, 161, 162
Mary, Domestic	SP11; 3
Elizabeth I, Domestic	SP12; 1, 81
<i>Treasury</i>	T65; 139
<b><i>Royal Bank of Scotland</i></b>	
<i>Child &amp; Co. books</i>	CH194/1& /2
<b><i>Victoria and Albert Museum</i></b>	
Handlist of Linen Damasks	inventory numbers consisting of two parts, an acquisition number plus the year, e.g. the first linen damask piece in the collection, 878-1853. From 1909, these numbers were preceded by T (for textile), e.g. T144-1909.
Registered Papers (relating to particular acquisitions)	12915/1888 RP2169A/1888 Norton, 85987/1902
Minute Papers (Krauth handlist)	1413a/1888
Bills and inventories	86; CC35, NN3, UU12, W20, W160, X14, YY6 KRP D30, RCK3, RC U21

Furniture Archive

Typed copies of inventories from various houses, filed under the name of the house.

## CAMBRIDGE

### *St John's College*

Inventory of Lady Margaret Beaufort, 1509, D91; 1 to 11

## GUILDFORD

### *Surrey County Record Office*

Loseley MS

SG LM; 1101/3A & B, 1104, 1105, 1112

## TROWBRIDGE

### *Wiltshire County Record Office*

Inventory at Wilton House, 1683

2057 H5/1

## MAIDSTONE

### *Kent County Record Office*

Jacqueman Inv., 1686

PRC11, 50/170

## KORTRIJK

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OSAK	3.179	uitvoerattesten [export certificates] voor Kortrijke linnen, 1677-78
"	3.251	reglement i.v.m. het zegelen [sealing] en en op de markt van damasten en servetten, 1689
"	4.395	reglementering van de uitvoer [exports] naar Spanje en Portugal, 1632
"	620	Register van passeporten [shipment documents], 1632
"	825	Rekeningen der heeren Dekens van de Neeringe van de St Catherina binnen Cortrijk, c.1703-1776 [Accounts of the Deacons of St Catherine's Guild]

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